177
● 797

/For an example of the effects of "western" acculturation and missionization on Tucano cosmogony, see the tale entitled "The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean", in either category 539 or category 116, pp. 8-49, 54./

342 /102 cont./
There is a front door as well as a back one, which are closed at night by means of doors of plaited straw or by blinds or by slatted shutters made of bamboo slats. Besides the materials mentioned, palms are used for roofing, round logs to set up the construction, twigs for interweaving, and vines for lashing. [824]

592
342
[162]
The size of the maloca varies according to the number of its occupants. Nevertheless, the small maloca constructed to shelter one nuclear family alone is very rare. A typical Tukano maloca is sufficiently large to accommodate an extended family; at present these are composed of approximately 25 or 30 individuals. For a family of this size, a maloca 20 meters long by 5 meters wide is sufficient. Inside, the maloca is divided into small compartments, each of which is occupied by a nuclear family.

361
596
The Tukano Indians do not usually live in settlements /Spanish caseríos/. The usual thing is to see a single large maloca occupied by an extended family, and generally there is a stretch between one maloca and another that is enough for half a day of navigation by rowing. Nevertheless, settlements exist, in which, instead of having one enormous maloca to shelter the extended family, several small malocas /103/ accommodate one or two nuclear families, but the total of the malocas that form the settlement always constitute one extended family.

291
[287]
Formerly, before the arrival of the Missionaries and the rubber workers in the region, the Tukano man used as his only daily clothing the guayuco, or loincloth, while the woman wore only a skirt that covered the body from the waist to the knees. Both articles, the loincloth as well as the skirt, were made from pressed tree bark. Neither sex went around shod.

291
177
797
The arrival of the Missionary and the rubber worker in the Tukano territory brought as a result the introduction of occidental clothing. The modesty inculcated by the Missionaries and the protection from insects offered by clothing have contributed enormously to the rapid acceptance of trousers, the shirt, and the

/103 cont./
291 feminine dress by the Tukano Indians. Nevertheless, it is still
177 possible to encounter Tukano Indians, male and female, who
•797 reject occidental clothing, and this occurs primarily among
persons of advanced age and in general among natives who reside quite far from any religious Mission.

527 For special feasts, such as the Dabukurí, ornaments of
302 brightly colored feathers are used by the men. For these feasts
[301] both men and women paint the face, the body, and the extremi-
[824] ties with carayurú, which is a pigment obtained by the fermentation
of the leaves of Bignonia chica or by boiling the water in which these leaves have been soaked.

527 In the decoration of the skin by means of pigments for the
302 feast of Dabukurí, it is always the woman who applies the paint
571 to the man, besides dressing him with his garb of feathers. If the man is married, it is his only wife or the principal wife, in case he has several, who assists him. In the case of a single man, any woman of the community does this work, and the single man contracts with this woman the same obligations and the same rights that a compadre has toward his comadre in the Colombian
302 Creole culture. Besides painting the skin for occasions as
[751] esteemed as the feast of the Dabukurí, the daily painting of the
face is common. In this case, the function of the pigment is
[413] simply aesthetic or for protection from the sun. In the decoration of the body and the extremities, /104/ cylindrical wooden pintaderas, which imprint geometric decorations, are used.

301 Another decoration used by Tukano women and girls is the
177 necklace of glass beads acquired from the rubber workers by means of barter, and there are also necklaces of mammal teeth obtained as a by-product of hunting and silver necklaces made from the coins that they get from the Creoles settled in the region.

105 The subject of social and political organization, as well as the life cycle, will be dealt with extensively at another time. For the moment it suffices to say quickly that the Tukano Indians have patrilineal extended families, they have patrilocal residence, they practice polyandry, marriage is carried out by means of

105 /104 cont./
abduction, they practice the couvade, there is segregation of
the woman during menstruation, there are initiation ceremonies
for the boys who have reached puberty, and there is social
stratification with castes.

177 Since the arrival of the religious Missionary and the rubber
• [797] worker in the region, two important phenomena have occurred.
The most significant and most noticeable one is the rapid incorporation and diffusion of occidental material culture. The aluminum pot has replaced the pottery bowl, trousers have replaced the loincloth, the cotton dress has taken the place of the tree-bark skirt, hunting is no longer done with bow and arrow, but with a shotgun, and fishing is more often done with the fishhook than with the trap.

[182] In the field of spiritual culture the influence of occidental
culture has been more subtle and not so rapidly accepted. It is
[797] certain that the system of social organization is suffering a process
[584] of disintegration; the Indian who wishes to have a woman must
[601] be willing to settle in a mission, because the Missionaries have
[595] shrewdly gathered together all the women of marriageable age
[178] and have taken them to the Missions; the kinship terms no longer
correspond to the present system; very few Indians still practice
[262] polyandry; but in spite of all this evidence, an adult Tukano
Indian of today has not stopped thinking according to the typical
[753] Tukano mental processes. For example, Manuel Sierra, our
[178] interpreter, in spite of having lived for four consecutive years with
his wife in the Departamento del Tolima, in Central Colombia,
and in spite of having left the Vaupés at 17 years of age, still has
the /105/ conviction that having eaten fish after the birth of his
son without a Tukano shaman's having "blown" the food beforehand was the cause of the appearance of ulcers on his legs.

773 The Tukano cosmogony presented below shows clearly the
177 phenomenon of the transculturation. The short time available
[128] for this first journey of contact with Tukano culture did not permit
[114] us to check this cosmogony with other informants. Our informant,
115 Marcos Sierra, is a shaman in the settlement of Guadalajara, on
756 the Paca River.

000
162
797 /105 cont./
177 the Paca River. The inhabitants of Guadalajara are Indians who
have quarreled with the religious Missions and have left them.
622 Javier Sierra, a brother of Marcos, is the capitán of the settle-
595 ment and is one of the few Indians who still practices polygyny:
he has two wives.

756 The status of Marcos Sierra as shaman and expert in Tukano
115 history is high among the settlers of Guadalajara. He is con-
554 sidered a good healer and is called from great distances to give
his medical services. We consider Marcos Sierra an intelligent
man, with an imagination a little too fertile, and an informant
anxious to help; he is approximately 40 years of age.

Cosmogony

*
539 The Tukano crossed the Pacific Ocean (4).

> [115]
> [177] 4. Marcos Sierra, our informant, has never traveled beyond the Vaupés region. The use of the Pacific Ocean seems to be a case of transculturization.

From Diaojpekowĩ were the first Tukano who arrived here (at the Vaupés). From Diaojpekowĩ were the first colonists to arrive in this region of the Vaupés, in other words, they were the discoverers. From Diaojpekowĩ came a Tukano presidente (5), and he was the chief of all the Tukano. This chief is named Yúpuri Baúro. From Diaojpekowĩ also came a judge, who was the one who took care of all the territories of the Tukano. This judge was named Yepára Oakajpeá. Yepára Oakajpeá was the judge of all the Tukano, but Yúpuri Baúro commanded him. From Diaojpekowĩ came another man, and he was named Yepára Oyé, and these people still constitute the military corps /106/ of the

> [177] 5. The term presidente represents another example of the influence of occidental culture on Tukano culture.

* 539

/131 cont./
be the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will make the first war, and Siópuri Uejké will have his country taken away from him. The Brazilians will take from him the country of Siópuri Uejké, and Siópuri Uejké will find another country toward the cordillera. After finding his country, Siópuri Uejké and his people will bury their bones in their country when they die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "And you and all your people will bury your bones in your country when you die." Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "You too are going to make war. And that is going to be all right." And Yepá Huáke sustained the country of Yúpuri Baúro. Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "When that war is over, Siópuri Uejké will come to your country and do not kill him. Then the Ereya (50) will come, and you may kill the Ereya. And in this way you are going to learn to read and to write, and then you will put an end to your malocas" (51).

50. The Brazilians.

51. Put an end to the Tukano culture, that is, they will learn to live differently.

Then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "I made this world for you. All the people will fight for three years, and in that way the world will end. It will rain and the world will burn and it will become dark." And then Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: /132/ "While they are fighting, you will not fight, because your tribe will come to an end before the war and the end of the world. After Siópuri Uejké and Ereya arrive in your land, you are only going to have one woman, and that woman will have only one child or two children, and the woman of your brother will not have children, and that is how the Tukano will end (52).

52. The Christian Missionary has prohibited

• [797]
[595]
[161]

/132 cont./

* 539 • [797] [595] [161] polygyny. Explanation for the constant diminution of the Tukano population.

* 539 582 583 And Siópuri Uejké and Ereya will command you. And they will have you as slaves and humiliated ones. I forbid the Tukano to take their woman from their own tribe, but they can get their woman from outside their tribe (53),

53. Obligatory exogamy exists in Tukano culture.

for example, a Yurutí or Tariana or Desana woman." And there were only three tribes from which the Tukano could get women. Yurutí, Tariano /Tariana/, and Desano /Desana/. And they did not fight with these tribes in order to get women, because a brother and sister of one tribe exchanged with a brother and sister of another tribe. And Yepá Huáke said to Yúpuri Baúro: "If you want to get a woman from another tribe that is not Yurutí, Tariano, or Desano, you will have to do it by fighting (54).

54. With any other tribe that is not the Yurutí, the Tairiano /sic/, and the Desano, the form of marriage is by abduction. During the abduction fights take place between the male relatives of the girl who is abducted and the committee of men who have come to get the wife for the bridegroom. This committee is formed by the male relatives of the bridegroom and the bridegroom does not take part in the abduction.

* 539 And the first woman that you will get by fighting will be Tuyuca. Do not kill, just fight and take the woman. The second woman will be Uanana, and do not kill them either, just take the woman.

* 539 /137 cont./
Urémiri Sáraro II. And then Urémiri Sáraro II asked Yúpuri Baúro III: "What shall we do?" Then Yúpuri Baúro III said: "Ereya must stay in San Gabriel." Then Yúpuri Baúro III said to Yepára Oakajpeá: "You stay in Yavaraté, I am going down below Manaos and below Pará." And Yúpuri Baúro III still lives there with his family.

•[797] And from San Gabriel to Yavaraté was free land that did not belong to the Brazilians, but the Monfortian Fathers were foreigners and did not know this, and that is why they built the missions in Yavaraté. And the Brazilians went upriver little by little until they reached Yavaraté.

/Pages 1-4 are title pages./

/5/

An Explanation

128 I am going to say that this is an anonymous book. Because it does not bear the name of its principal collaborators. The name that heads these studies is only an endorsement. There fell upon us personally little more than the responsibility of the editing, as we assumed the fatiguing labors of this. The true authors, or at least the principal collaborators, are the well-deserving Missionaries who for several decades have been toiling in the midst of the almost inhospitable forest of Amazonia, in the desire to incorporate the poor forest dwellers into the Brazilian and Christian civilization.

*101 The title demands an explanation. As will be seen in going through the pages, the basin of the Uaupés, including its two principal tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papuri /Papury/, is populated by numerous human groups, which are commonly known as Tribes, with different demographic density. Somatic and linguistic differences, sometimes quite noticeable, proclaim diverse ethnic origins. Nevertheless, proximity and trade, which, in a destructive action of centuries, did not succeed in grinding away those differences, did bring about a fusion in the customs. The same standard /given in English/ or pattern of life that is observed in a povoado /populated place/ on the lower Uaupés is found at the headwaters of the Papuri or the Tiquié and their small tributaries. As we travel along the rivers, the name of the tribe changes, one finds different physiognomic types, speaking very different idioms, although living in malocas /communal houses/ similarly constructed, eating the same foods, performing the same tasks, entertaining themselves the same way; one observes, finally, perfect identity in the way of laughing and gesticulating. We are, then, looking at
*101 one and the same cultural group. We can thus take in conjunction those 20 or more tribes toward whose civilization and
• 797 Christianization the activities of the Filhos de S. João Bosco /Sons of Saint John Bosco/ have been directed since 1916, led

/5 cont./

*101 in their anonymous heroism for 40 years by the intelligent
● 797 dynamism and the apostolic charity of Dom Pedro Massa.

In the beginning of this century the well-known German
114 ethnologist Teodoro /Theodor/ Koch Grünberg visited part of the area presented in our studies here, and he condensed his observations into several works, especially the one that bears the title "Dos anos entre os índios do noroeste /6/ Brasileiro /Two Years among the Indians of Northwest Brazil/" (1).

> 1. Zwei Iahre /Jahre/ bei den Indianer nordwest-Brasiliens -- Stuttgart, 1921. His work Festschrift Eduard Seler, containing the classification and location of the several tribes that he visited or from which he obtained information, dates from Stuttgart, 1922.

We are now in a position to appreciate, not only the inconveniences of his journey, but also his difficulties as a "White" and a "Foreigner," having to deal with the Indians locked in their distrust, prejudices, and, let us say it, hostilities against civilized people; moreover, not knowing the idioms of the tribes of the Uaupés (2)

> 2. At the mouth of the river Curicuriari, Koch's oarsman, the Tukano /Tucano/ João, gives him a lesson in "unintelligible Tukano": -- "Gibt mir Unterricht in Tucano seiner fürchterlichen Stammessprach, voll nasaler, gutturaler und ganz UNDEUTLICHER laute" /he gives me instruction in Tucano, his horrible original language, very nasal, gutteral, and quite confusedly loud/.

and, for this reason, having to resort to the always deficient services of emergency interpreters.

/6 cont./

114 Our task, of editing, in comparison with that of Koch G.,
128 was greatly facilitated. There fell to us the intellectual,
patriotic, and religious pleasure of four excursions through the
vast and laborious field of the Apostolado Salesiano no Amazonas
/Salesian Apostolate in Amazonas/ and of admiring the work
of patriotism and evangelical charity that the Filhos de Dom
[191] Bosco are achieving there. And benefiting ourselves by means
● [797] of their company, their knowledge of the native idioms (3),
the prestige that they enjoy, not only among the natives who
profit from their material and moral assistance, but even among
the others who only know them by repute, we start collecting
114 the precious data of their observations and experience. The
123 ethnographic material contained in these pages could be
collected in a relatively short period, although triple that of
124 Grünberg. Nevertheless they describe an existence in the
closest possible contact with the forest dwellers: living in their
maloca, attending their festivities, listening to them during
their long chats among themselves, and entertaining themselves
in amiable conversation with them, participating in their joys
and their sorrows, observing them in their work, admiring
their abilities, using their services, curing their illnesses, probing
their spirit, illustrating their intelligence in long years of
education, illuminating their soul with religious truths, now
and then seeing those minds unexpectedly open in flashes that
reveal, through a charming ingenuousness, an internal world
never dreamed of. One understands an environment by living
in it; and the environment can explain to us a mentality.

3. Besides having already found numerous Indians with whom we could communicate perfectly in the language of our native country, because they had learned Portuguese in the schools of the Missions.

/16 cont./

175
648
/footnote 1 cont./ Pedro da Costa Favella completely annihilated a tribe, killing 700 persons, imprisoning 400, and burning 300 villages." Baena -- Compêndio das eras da Província do Pará, 1838 /Compendium of the eras of the Province of Pará, 1838/ -- ap. José Veríssimo, o. c., 304.

The Jesuit Padre Manuel Pires (according to Padre Serafim Leite, in his História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil /History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil/) traveled on the Rio Negro four times, accompanying "tropas de resgate." They were swift penetrations, however, without the goal of colonization.

In 1668 Pedro da Costa Favella returned, accompanied by the Mercedarian Frei /Brother/ Teodósio da Veiga, and, in the place called Aruim, founded a povoado /populated place/ of Tarumã Indians, which was later transferred to the mouth of the river Jaú, with "Manao, Aruaqui and Tacú" Indians, under the name of Santo Elias do Jaú, and now called Airão.

In 1669 Francisco da Mota Falcão laid the foundations of a fort two leagues above the mouth of the Rio Negro, where there would be formed, little by little, the "Lugar /place, village, town/ da Barra," or the "Povoado de S. José da Barra," today the modern and picturesque city of Manaus.

175
797
By royal letter of 1694 the catechizing of the Rio Negro was entrusted to the Carmelite Religious. Through their work eight aldeaments emerged: S. Elias do Jaú, S. Alberto de Aracary, S. Angelo do Cumarú, N. Senhora da Conceição de Maruiá, S. Rita de Cassia de Itarendaua, N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo de Cabuquena, N. Senhora do Rosário de Bararoá (later called Thomar), and N. Senhora do Monte do Carmo do rio Dari, and later the missions of the Uaupés, in S. Joaquim da Foz and S. Jerônimo da Cachoeira or Ipanoré.

175
648
Then the government of the metropolis, struck by fear of the Dutch and Spanish incursions, and eager to obtain the "drogas" /literally "drugs," here natural products/, proposed the systematic founding of settlements along the whole Rio Negro.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 19]

175 648 The scouting, official or not, in search of the "drogas" (the natural products) and the "peças" /pieces/ (the Indians for public service or even as slaves) was going on. Soon the Rio Negro and its principal tributaries were quite well known by the Portuguese, even the connections with the Orinoco by way of the Cassiquiare and with the Guianas by way of the Rio Branco.

175 648 ● 797 By royal letter of March 3, 1755, the "Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro" was created. In that very year, by decision of the Marquês /Marquis/ de Pombal, by decree of June 7, the Religious Missionaries were excluded from the secular direction of the native povoados (the direction being transferred to the judges and aldermen) and, in the spiritual one, were subject to the Bishops (no longer to their Religious Superiors). In April of that year Padre Joseph Monteiro de Noronha was chosen as Vigário Geral /Vicar-general/ of the Capitania, under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Pará, who at that time was D. Frei Miguel de Bulhões, of the order of S. Bento.

On July 16, 1757, the first Governador, Joaquim de Melo Póvoas, was appointed, and in 1758 several aldeias were elevated to Vila /town/ or Lugares: that of Maruiá to Vila de Barcelos, as Capital; Itarendaua to Vila de Moura; Bararoá to Vila de Thomar; Jaú to Lugar de Ayrão; Cumarú to Lugar de Poiares; Aracarí to Lugar de Carvoeiro.

175 648 The territorial preoccupations of the metropolis dictated orders for the garrisoning of the upper Rio Negro against the Spanish expansionist tendencies. Capitão José da Silva Delgado was appointed for this in 1761, and he founded the localities of S. Pedro de Simapé, S. José dos Marabitanas, N. Senhora da Guia, S. Bárbara, S. João Batista do Mabé, S. Isabel, Senhor da Pedra, N. Senhora de Nazaré da Curiana, S. Gabriel da Cachoeira, S. Sebastião, and S. Antonio do Castanheiro Velho. This last one was later abandoned due to the impossibility of agriculture, always damaged by the leaf-cutting ant, and the population was transferred above the mouth of the Abunã, founding the povoado of S. Antonio do Castanheiro Novo. The Franciscan Frei José de S. Úrsula was appointed as the first vicar of S. Gabriel.

/17 cont./

175 648 In 1772 the povoado of N. Senhora de Loreto de Maçaraby was founded, and in 1781 that of N. Senhora das Caldas on the bank of the Cauaburí River.

By order of General João Pereira Caldas, commissioned by Portugal for the demarcation of the boundaries (with D. Francisco de Requena representing the interests of Spain), Coronel Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada went up the Rio Negro in 1784, founded the town of S. Marcelino at the mouth of the Xiê, and traveled on the waters of the Uaupés.

● [797] Nevertheless, with the Missionaries reduced in number and powers, the unfitness of the "Diretores dos Índios" /Directors of the Indians/ was prejudicial to their /18/ Christianization and settlement in povoados. The "Diários" /Diaries/ of Sampaio and Ferreira document that and protest against it (2).

2. Alexandre R. Ferreira in the Pa[illegible]ão segunda /second Communication/, dated January 30, 1786, affirmed: -- "I say what I have always said, that the Indians, after being freed, will remain in this respect in a worse condition than the one they had when slaves. The master in the life of the slave carefully looked after his money; the Director in the life of the Indian does not look after any interest." And he notes that the Indians died from much work and little food. "They give them only beijú or ticoara and caribé /dishes made with manioc/" (o.c., 87).

On p. 43 he talks about the bad treatment that the Directors inflicted on the Indians, while they enriched themselves and became so many petty noblemen: -- "From one pair of absolute hands to another, and so absolute that in the vilas and lugares, or rather, free dukedoms, marquisates, and earldoms of the Directors, the Indians suffer, tied to the tenacious pillar of their suffering."

/18 cont./

175
648

/footnote 2 cont./ the impossibility of founding others that would resemble them, as is observed throughout Brazil.

"What the facts attest to is that if any good result was achieved, it was due to the zeal and the charity of the Missionaries.

"Therefore, to hand over the direction of the aldeias to religious who will be able to renounce completely the goods and the pleasures of the world, who will have the patience needed to forgive the Indians the mistakes and the faults stemming from the incontestable inferiority of their intelligence, who will inspire in them a love of work, who will instruct them in the principles of the Catholic religion and of the Christian doctrine, who, in sum, will educate them to the point of finding themselves able to fulfill the duties and to enjoy the advantages of civil society, is, in my view, the only system that we can follow with every probability of happy success." ("Relatorios da Presidencia da Provincia do Amazonas," Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.)

● [797] In spite of the lack of Missionaries, the process of Christianization was being accomplished, although more slowly, since Indians from the Uaupés went down to S. Gabriel or its environs when they heard of the presence of some priest there.

With the independence of Brazil proclaimed in 1822, complete autonomy was not granted to the province of S. José do Rio Negro, as it was to the others, and, as "Comarca do Alto Amazonas," it came to be integrated, up to 1850, with the Province of Pará.

/18 cont./

175 648 797 With the apostolic works of the Carmelite Frei José dos Santos Inocentes on the upper Rio Negro and tributaries for more than 20 years, counting from 1832, the evangelization of the natives acquired new vigor.

The Province of Amazonas having been created on September 5, 1850, its first Governador, João Batista de Figueiredo Tenreiro Aranha, in the same year that he came into office, 1852, appointed the Capuchin Frei Gregorio José Maria de Bene "Vigário encomendado das freguezias e povoações do alto Rio Negro e Missionário dos rios Uaupés e Içana" /Removable vicar of the parishes and towns of the upper Rio Negro and Missionary of the rivers Uaupés and Içana/, since Frei José dos Santos Inocentes was forced by illness to go down to Manaus. The activity of Frei Gregorio was great, and in little more than two years he managed to establish relations with 25 tribes (who appear in his list), trying to put them in aldeias, /19/ re-establishing many povoados, and bringing many individuals among them to Christianity. [103] The following towns are mentioned as those for which, in 1854, he asked for a change of name, to wit: on the Uaupés: Querari, Macaquinha, Micura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Coração de Jesus), Carurú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Fidelis martir), Mutum (aldeia of S. Cruz), Aracapuri (aldeia of S. João Batista), Jutica, Pacú-cachoeira (aldeia of S. Sebastião), aldeia of Cubeo (aldeia of N. Senhora das Dores), Umarí, Iauareté (aldeia of S. Ana), Jabutí-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Paulo Apóstolo), Juquira (aldeia of S. Domingos), Naná-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Antônio de Lisboa), S. Jerônimo (aldeia of Conceição de N. Senhora), S. Joaquim, Trovão, Pitúna-rapecuma, Inuitera, Cunurí, Coró-Coró, Iura-rapecuma (aldeia of S. Francisco das Chagas), Taracuá (S. Francisco das Chagas), Ambaíua, Ivitera-rapecuma. On the Tiquié: Tucano (or S. Isabel), Uíra-poço (or Nazaré), Maracajá (or S. José), Turí-igarapé (or S. Pedro). On the Papurí: S. Luzia dos Tucanos, S. Gregório Magno dos Pirá-tapuya. (Archivo do Amazonas, Year I, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 34, and Year II, Vol. II, No. 5, p. 7.)

/19 cont./

175 With alternating periods of assistance, the Capuchins
797 proceeded to attend to the inhabitants of the upper Rio Negro and Uaupés until 1888, when they withdrew and the Mission vanished. Since that time the civilized and the natives of the Rio Negro have had periodic visits from /20/ ecclesiastics, few of whom went beyond S. Gabriel, and some did not reach there.

In 1914 the Mission of the Rio Negro and Uaupés was entrusted by the Holy See to the Salesiana Congregação de S. João Bosco, and a new and more promising phase for those tribes began. Fourteen of them located along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié and Papurí are assisted materially, sanitarily, and spiritually. The Indians are attracted to the banks of these rivers and settled in small povoados.

For better civilizing assimilation, in accordance with Christian principles, besides the hospitals, maternity clinics, ambulatories, and churches, there are 13 schools (six male and seven female) operating (1958), which, in the regime of a boarding school, educate and instruct about 1500 children of both sexes in the language of the homeland, sciences, and arts. The contrast between the life of the former students of the Mission in their povoados and that of those who live in the malocas where the action of the Missionary has not reached is the best proof of the civilizing attainments of the Salesian Missions.

2. The First Relatórios

175 In the eighteenth century three Relatórios /Accounts/ with references to tribes of the Rio Negro and Uaupés appeared:

1st. "Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos dominios portuguezes em os Rios Amazonas e Negro. Ilustrado com algumas notícias que podem interessar á curiosidade dos navegantes e dar mais claro conhecimento das duas capitanias do Pará e de S. José do Rio Negro /Logbook of the voyage from the city of Pará up to the last colonies of the

/57/

Chapter III

Malocas (Baxsasé-wi'seri) and Povoados (Maxka)

133 The Uaupés pours its waters into the Rio Negro by two mouths, separated by the "Ilha das Flores" /Island of Flowers/ (former Ilha do Umirí, wextí-nã̄xkã̄ro) and islets, dotted besides with innumerable stones and rocks: the southern mouth, with three bars formed by the reefs and the "Cachoeira do Tamanduá," its entrance being more difficult; the northern one, also with many rocks and the "Cachoeira do Carapanã."

361 Whoever goes up it will find at short intervals huts, or groups of huts, two or three here, eight or ten farther on, and even eighteen or twenty. They are the "Povoados" /populated [103] places/ (maxkã̄), as those of the region call them. They will have the name of a Saint as a Patron, or of some geographic accident, a native name, or any other one chosen, it seems, by chance, as happens in general with national toponymy. The names are ordinarily from the Nheengatú language or Língua geral and correspond to others in Tukano, almost always as mere translation. It is difficult to say whether the original name is the Tukano one, and the one from the língua geral, by which it is known, is only a translation, or vice versa.

178 361 Until 1924, from the Cachoeira de Ipanoré upwards, there were only malocas (1), reports Padre João Marchesi, the veteran Salesian Missionary of the Uaupés. The replacement of the malocas by family houses and the appearance of small povoados, due to the influence of the Salesian Missions, date from that year. At present (1958) malocas only exist either in the interior of the forests or on the banks of the Uaupés River above Iutica and on the Tiquié above Carurú-Cachoeira.

The native tradition preserves the name and the location of malocas and human assemblages that have now disappeared. As documentation we present the lists below. For some places, in this middle of the twentieth century, there is only underbrush to mark the place where the human hand felled the virgin forest and built a maloca.

592 [797] 1. Maloca is the name of the large collective dwelling (cf. VI, 1).

/Footnotes for pp. 82-85./

000 2. Point /Port. Ponta/ in the toponymy always indicates a geographic accident.

*[192] 3. The natives furnished us the two names above. Coró-coró is the name of riverine birds of various species: ibis melanocephala, gerónticus infuscata.

• [797] 4. There was formerly a Mission of the Capuchin Friars, under the patronage of S. Pedro, reports Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 231). Buxpú-seró is an abbreviation of buxpú-kaxsero, piece of sarabatana /blowgun/. The name refers to the legends of the sarabatana and of Tupana-ruca.

5. Sem moradores /without inhabitants/, that is, the former povoado does not exist any more.

6. The name in parentheses indicates the original inhabitants.

7. The dashes indicate places known only by the denomination in Tukano.

*[192] 8. Taina, in Nheengatu, is a child of either sex up to when it starts to talk, walk, and do small services. From then on, those of the male sex are called kurumim, and those of the female sex, kuñatai.

9. The first Tukano who came from the Papurí to the Tiquié crossed there by swimming the river to the right bank, when they were fleeing from enemies.

/67 cont./

161 increased (26).

> 26. With pleasure we found some of these opinions confirmed by the Vigário /Vicar/ of S. Gabriel, the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza, from the end of the eighteenth century. In No. 208 of his "Noticias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/" he points out: "What indeed is worth noting is that there is not found among the central heathen the sickness that is called humores gallicos /French disease, syphilis/, according to what has been ascertained on the rivers Uaupé, Japurá, Juruá, Jutahí, and others, and because of that perhaps there is among them great propagation as daily experience shows; in any descimento /descent; see p. 35 / one sees double and triple the children of both sexes." [164]

c) It might happen that one finds partially or even totally uninhabited a place that, years before, was flourishing. This fact per se does not authorize one to conclude that one is dealing with a decrease /68/ in population. There might have been migration to another place, as a consequence of there having been some epidemic or fight in the original povoado. It is true that there have been epidemic attacks of colds ("catarro, ehõ," says the Indian), measles (27), 164

> 27. In August and September of 1956 successive attacks of whooping cough, measles, and malaria decimated approximately 200 natives on the rivers Uaupés, Papurí, and Tiquié.

or malaria (uháke), which have decimated the population of one group or another. The sanitary assistance that the Salesian Missions are giving them has avoided such attacks or has reduced the danger of them. [797]

/68 cont./

165 d) Unfortunately, however, the index of child mortality is still very high. Prior to the establishment of hospitals and [797] ambulatories by the Salesian Missions, about 50 per cent of the children from 2 to 10 years of age died because of the lack of hygiene.

164 More alarming still is the danger of tuberculosis. Sent by the Colombian government, in August of 1955 the phthisiologist Dr. Alvaro Arguillo Pinzon visited the populations of the Uaupés and Papurí. Soon after his visit to this latter river, at the povoados of the Colombian bank as well of the Brazilian one, he affirmed to us in Iauareté that 75 per cent of the indigenous population was already infected by the Koch bacillus. The affirmation is painfully true. Not only are the Indians ignorant of the simplest standards of hygiene suitable to the case (they live together in the same environment filled with carbonic anhydride from the always lighted fire, they sleep on the same hammock, put their dirty hands in the common food, drink from the same cuia /gourd container/, consume the remains of the food of the tuberculars, sip the drinks chewed perhaps by some infected person, etc.), but also to their mentality the observance of the precautions required by the sickness is excluded. [753] As a matter of fact, they do not believe in sicknesses; they consider themselves immortal. The sicknesses are evils caused by some enemy, and only the pajé /curer-sorcerer/ with his magic practices (practices that in reality often contribute only to making the ailment worse) is able to eliminate them. For [797] this reason, they do not subject themselves to long treatment in the Mission hospitals, to which, ordinarily, they retreat voluntarily and with the permission of the relatives only after having uselessly tried the treatments of various pajés, already in the last days of life. In recent years a considerable proportion of deaths, mainly of adults, has had as causa mortis laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis.

/83 cont./

648 We are inclined to think that, independently of war episodes or cultural elements, this superiority of the Tukano has various causes: 1st, the tribe's being more numerous; by the data of the old statistics we can imagine that they approach two thousand. If that is the case, it is two or three times larger in population than any other tribe; 2nd, it is also probable that they had occupied some of their present centers (from where they expelled the Makú) before other tribes arrived in this area, and, according to the native mentality, the value of priority in time is great; 3rd, they located themselves more or less regularly scattered along these three rivers, and due to the unity among them (that all call themselves and consider themselves brothers), they must constitute a feared force for the other tribes, who are smaller and have their nuclei located farther apart; 4th, the number and the arrangement along the rivers would have, little by little, generalized their language among the individuals of the other tribes, who traveled for the sake of trade with the Tukano or with other tribes (21).

197

797

21. Living together as students or employees, and later the frequent meetings among the various tribes, in the Missionary Centers has contributed powerfully toward the ever more rapid propagation of the Tukano idiom. One can foresee, at this pace, that it will become the língua geral of the Uaupés, as the Nheengatú is on the Río Negro.

It seems to us that this hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that those indigenous groups of the middle Uaupés (especially above Carurú-cachoeira) whose trade is regularly carried on among themselves or with the tribes of the Aiarí indeed do not know (22)

22. We wrote this in 1947. Ten years later, 1956,

/83 cont./

197 [797] /footnote 22 cont./ we already found many Wanãna of the younger generation, who had passed through the boarding schools of the Missions, not only understanding the Tukano, but even preferring it to the mother tongue when they are amusing themselves with their classmates.

the Tukano idiom. At the same time the Taryana language is on the way to being lost, because they are surrounded by the Tukano.

563 The matrimonial interdiction of the Tukano with the Wanãna and the Bará is in force.

/84/ 3) Divisions (23) --

*101 115 23. In 1947 we had obtained a list of 28 subdivisions. And in 1953-4, we procured confirmation with the old Komũ, Gabriel Costa (about 80 years old), from Parí-cachoeira. He confirmed to us the order of derivation that we present here, starting with the Mamí (older brother) Waú-ro-põrá, and proceeding with the term Axkabí (younger brother) Oá kaxpéa põrá, etc. He also informed us that the first 14 subdivisions are the "principal ones," "the following 14 are inferior." And he added four more subdivisions as being "the lowest." Of the ones that we had obtained previously, he not only failed to mention, but even denied the existence of the U'khwãra and Vidari. Nevertheless we had confirmation of their existence on the part of individuals belonging to these subdivisions in S. Miguel and Melo Franco (last Brazilian localities on the river Papurí), respectively.

*101

/87 cont./

b) BARÁ OR BASÃNA

1) People-Name-Language -- It is the name by which, without any modification, this tribe is known in the various languages; also the name of a fragrant bush, with whose branches the various tribes are accustomed to gird themselves when they dance.

Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be seen by the "Vocabulário da Amazônia." (Cf. the author's books: "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas /Indigenous Idioms/.")

*[192]

We heard some Tukano say that the Bará are their Paxkõ-Ro (grandparents), but they could not tell us the reason for this apellation, nor did we find any allusion to it in their legends. It is certain that marriage between these two tribes is prohibited.

[115]

Pe. Humberto Limpens (28)

● [797]

28. He was one of the great and well-deserving Monfortian Missionaries of the tribes in the Colombian region of the Uaupés. He became known by the name of "Pe. Clemente," who had been his predecessor in the Mission.

of the Congregação de Montfort informed us that he had heard from some old Bará that they called themselves Manao. We have not yet obtained confirmation of this, however. At present nothing is yet known about their relations with the ancient Manao tribe, which dominated a large part of the Rio Negro and is classified in the Arwáke group. Could it be that a small group of Manao were dominated or absorbed by the Tukano, whose idiom they assimilated?

/103 cont./

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- Their language belongs to the Tukano family, as can be verified by the Vocabulary that we transcribed and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous idioms of Amazonia/"). Chestmir affirms that it now shows Karaíba vestiges.

/104/ Anthropologically they are readily distinguished from the Tukano. They are taller, less corpulent, and, above all, less markedly Mongoloid in physiognomy than the latter.

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- They are found living on the upper Uaupés, on the frontier of Brazil and Colombia, and on the rivers Querarí, Cuduiarí, and the headwaters of the Içana. The first explorers already found them in this habitat. About a century ago Jesuino Cordeiro settled some hundreds of them in Mitú and on the lago do espelho /lake of the mirror/. ● [797]

[161] Including a thousand souls, according to the calculations of Koch Grünberg, who says that the Kubẽwãna dominated two Arwáke groups of the Querarí and imposed on them their language and customs: the Hõhõwa and the Káwa (39). Many of the latter, however, emigrated to the Içana River, and in contact with the Arwáke groups there, they again took on their Arwáke character (Zwei Iahre, 72).

39. Two or three families of the Káwa still survive (cf. II-6, a (5)). Ás for the Hõhõwa, whom Koch G. talks about, perhaps they would be the Hehénakõ or Hehénawõ, now considered a subdivision of the Kubẽwana, as it can be seen on the charts transcribed here.

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

[171] [835] [829] [797]

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/140 cont./

868 The skill and perfection with which he opens out the palms for the covering of the maloca, with the help of the oar, or how he makes his plaitings, the way of tying and transporting a bundle of palms, merit admiration. His ability with regard to these practical necessities of life is very remarkable. And it becomes more admirable if we consider that the training is very quick, without true schools, and he soon finds himself skilled, for example, in the varied and beautiful work of nets and baskets.
777 They also learn with relative speed the trades of the civilized,
868 such as mason, blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, in the Salesian
177 Schools, although, perhaps due to the force of the environment, circumstances, and their inconstancy, they do not often reach perfection in their trade. Some continue as artisans of these trades in the missionary establishments. Others, returning from the schools to their homes, have an opportunity to use what they learned, handling, for instance, the saw, the hammer, and even the chisel. They are also the machinists of the launches that go up their immense rivers; just as they are capable of executing more delicate work, such as the observations and handling of meteorological instruments (5).

> 5. Wallace already observed a century ago (perhaps with some exaggeration to emphasize the idea) that, while a European countryman would take six months to learn how to handle a sextant, one of our Indians learns it in minutes. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Jahre) also made a similar observation.

152
502 They are the irreplaceable "practitioners" of the navigation of those dangerous rivers, because they have an amazing topographic memory of the hidden rocks and sandbanks, bound up with an impressive calm during the dangers presented by the storms and the cachoeiras.

/144 cont./

551 *[192] the civilized, who, they can be sure, already at the first presentation, receive a nickname, which will be propagated with incredible speed (8).

8. They told us of some of these nicknames: one they called sõãgõ, vermilion, because of his color; another, subí, curled, because he had curly hair; a third one, uxpíka-ro, crooked teeth; a fourth one, o'mẽpero-ro, big ears; a fifth one, waú, the uáia-piçá monkey; a sixth one, õxsó-boekhõ, arrow of alligator (because of being tall and thin), etc. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 206) tells that they nicknamed him Wãx'tĩ (see VII-4, d (5)), because of the beard (?), and his companion Schmidt, nõ'myó-axké, monkey-woman.

6) Curiosity.

153 203 Endowed with great curiosity, he wants to learn from any civilized person to whom he is introduced who he is, what his name is, where he comes from, where he is headed, what he came to do, what his nationality is; and they ask their tribal brothers who are accompanying the unknown visitor a thousand [797] other questions. An Indian is apt to make a long and uncomfortable journey in order to tell those of another povoado an episode that happened, the visit of a new missionary, etc. (9).

9. In July of 1956 His Excellency the Coadjutor Bishop of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, Dom José Domitrovitsch, decided to surprise the missionaries of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), and he was covering the 300 kilometers that separate Parí from Taracuá with a small motorboat. He stayed overnight in the povoado of S. João, about 30 kilometers from the Mission. An Indian, in the middle of the night, set out

/144 cont./

153
203
797 /footnote 9 cont./ traveling in his canoe and at six o'clock in the morning informed the Missionaries of the visit of the Bishop, who is festively received at the Mission two hours later. Humorously one says that in these latitudes there is not yet wireless telegraph, but the communication system of radio-cipó is well developed.

153 If one opens a suitcase, a book, a notebook, the Indian's eye does not leave these objects. And many times he wants to have a more practical and complete knowledge, approaching them, touching them, and /145/ observing them in all their aspects. And not rarely subjecting them to observation by all the senses: he touches, smells, bites. The civilized man realizes that he is being furtively touched on his clothes, or even on the hand, by the children and even by the women. We were not able to verify whether in this gesture some magic concept might also enter.

When he hears Portuguese being spoken, if he does not understand it, he likes to repeat the sounds that he heard, pronouncing them several times, as if to engrave them in his memory.

7) Distrust.

329 Conversely, he does not like to be observed. If he perceives that he is, he withdraws. He answers the civilized laconically, going away as soon as possible, in order to avoid a new question; or he will leave without answering. He spends entire hours of travel in silence in a canoe when he travels alone with some civilized man, or even when he travels with others from the tribe,
[123] but in the presence of a "white." It is the mistrust (10)

10. We were lucky in getting Indians of both sexes, from diverse tribes and in different localities, to unbosom themselves confidentially

/145 cont./

829
123

/footnote 10 cont./ and reveal to us many more intimate and secret things. Besides the frequent presents, although small (many times only some candies and cigarettes, things greatly appreciated by all), and the patience and kindness of the treatment, it helped us to show that we already knew some of the more secret things, especially pertaining to the subject of our questions. Perhaps the vanity in showing that he knew more and better than the previous informers would open the Indian's mouth. One must insist many, many times that they speak frankly, without embarrassment, that not only would they not lose our esteem, but the civilized person likes frank people better. They could talk because we would not reveal their name to anyone.

Among the confidences that we obtained in this way (and in our notes we have recorded the person, place, and date), confirming their preconceived opinion against all the civilized, even though one may be the most abnegative Missionary, we remember here the following four: 1st. -- they do not like the civilized; 2nd. -- they believe themselves more ingenious than the civilized; they consider them just silly; 3rd. -- they like to see the civilized irritated, even pretending not to understand what he wants; 4th. -- it is a good thing to hurt the civilized.

829

• [797]

It would be easy to compile several episodes that confirm these statements. But these confidences, collected from the very lips of the natives, dispense with any more words and are more valuable than any episode. The idea of adding this Note to the chapter on the Psychology of the Indian came to us on August 27, 1957, in Carará-poco on the lower Içana, upon hearing that, for the second time, a young Siusí-tapuya woman (with three children, already

/145 cont./

829
797

> /footnote 10 cont./ abandoned by two men with whom she had lived, having been charitably sheltered and benefited in so many ways by the Salesian Mission) said to the other women: "the Missionaries are thieves like all the whites."

829 always observed and /146/ revealed by anyone who dealt with the Indians, perhaps in part because they have heard talk of the tricks engendered by the civilized (11).

> 11. Many travelers attest that, at the approach of the whites, the Indians used to send their daughters and wives to the forest. Alexandre R. Ferreira, in his "Diário da Viagem philosophica /Diary of the Philosophical Voyage/," p. 98, states: "On the other hand, the first ones who went down did not take much care to be amiable in the eyes of the Indians; I think that the memory of the treatment has lasted and will last among the people. Actually, they used to give their word, partake of the hospitality, then make the Indians drunk in order to take them captive." "In such a way the aversion and horror toward the whites took root in all, so that, at merely the memory, they hide in the forest. When they come down, it is because, in their dilemma: either they die in the hands of the Indians who are their enemies, or they come down to serve the whites." The well-deserving Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, confirms this, recalling that about 20 years ago, during the balata season, as soon as they saw some boat of the whites, all fled. The Missionary then had to stand in the bow in order to be seen from far away by the natives and thus to find them in the maloca.

[797]

797
857
872

/148 cont./

The school children show some inclination and skill for the manual arts: the girl prefers the work in the field and also appreciates embroidery and sewing.

461 He is also endowed with his talents as a worker. The skill, which we have already pointed out and will point out (see ch. V /see Ch. VI/), the perfection, and the relative speed in the kind of jobs that he traditionally performs are the best proofs.

The necessity to live forces him, for his part, also to face great difficulties in order to conquer nature. It is enough to imagine the sacrifices imposed by the cutting for a clearing, with the means formerly at his disposal. His endurance, for example, for rowing, is worthy of consideration. For other jobs, such as agriculture or digging the ground, he is weak. Although the work rhythm is not intense, but rather is always with the calm that is characteristic of him, and he has better nourishment than in his home, after two weeks the Indian begins to weaken and not infrequently to lose weight: and after two or three months he must be excused for holidays and rest (13).

13. Besides the danger of malaria in the lower Rio Negro, this weakening of the Indian, especially when he lacks his customary foods, condemn the process (that some are already exploring and others, ignoring the circumstances, recommend) of making use of the native hand in the extraction of the piassava, the Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," the name of several trees (and their fruit), including the Brazil nut/, or borracha. We think that such jobs can be, or rather must be, performed only by the caboclos, who already have physical endurance and a psychic disposition different from that of the natives.

/151 cont./

437 /footnote 19 cont./ perfectly new, from a Hohodene of the stream Waraná (tributary of the Aiarí): and in fact he made the deal, in spite of the fact that the machine was worth about 4,000 cruzeiros.

593
• 797 The very relations between parents and children are contaminated or are regulated by gain. The parents come periodically to visit the boarding-school children in the Mission schools and many times bring them beijú, dried fish, and fruit. The student sees them from far away and immediately sets out to join them and spends some time with them, but always in a cold way, without looking at them, perhaps scratching the ground with a toe of his foot. Another time the parents come without bringing anything. The missionary lets the boy know: -- "Go see, your father is there." "I already know," he answers indifferently. -- "Then go to talk with him." -- "He is not giving anything," he answers, and he does not stir to see his own father, although it has been months that he has not seen him.

437
797
*[192] Periodically a /152/ small boat from the Mission in Iauareté in 1953 went up as far as S. Miguel and Melo Franco (river Papurí), buying flour for the schools. The Tukano from this last locality offered to keep for a few days the hampers of flour for their "irmãos" /brothers/ who lived a few hours away on the river Auá, until the Mission boat came to collect them. For this small favor, however, they demanded from their Tukano "irmãos" of the Auá 50 per cent of the flour, to wit: of four hampers kept, two were handed over to the Mission and the other two stayed as payment to the "warehouse."

/155 cont./

648 577 Just as little can one have absolute confidence in his word or promise and count on the Indian for a set date, for the performance of a job, a trip, etc. He will fail to appear on such-and-such a day or place where he is expected, or do the promised work. Later, perhaps, he will show up, without, however, talking about the subject or excusing himself. If, by chance, we are the first to talk and we complain (which is not always advisable), he will present some excuse, true or false. It does not even enter his mind to think whether there are strong reasons for keeping the promise given to the white. He absolutely will not sacrifice any of his interests in order to satisfy an assumed obligation.

● [797] The unanimous affirmation of all those who have lived with them for some time is that they are endowed with a great capacity for simulation (24).

24. The Arwake natives of the Içana exhibit the same skill at simulation. Among the verificative episodes we recall the following one. It was at the beginning of the female boarding school, directed by the Irmãs Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora or Irmãs Salesianas /Sisters Daughters of Mary Auxiliary or Salesian Sisters/ (1957). Several girls, in spite of the liberality of the discipline and the tolerance of the Reverendas Irmãs, ran away. Two girl students, taking advantage of the right moment, escaped and, with a canoe, reached the opposite bank, where their mother was found in a small hut. The latter immediately crossed the river and came to the school to see her daughters. Not being found, of course, the mother showed great distress, starting to cry with signs of great affliction, causing serious concern to the

/155 cont./

648
577
[777]

/footnote 24 cont./ Educadoras /Educators/. Nevertheless, it was the mother herself who had hidden the daughters in the forest, as was found out later through witnesses of the act.

In a perfect manner they will feign illness or indigence, they will feign ignorance of an order or a prohibition, loss of memory or an oversight. Planning a deed which they consider bad (for example, three or four Indians organizing an attack with the purpose of stealing, or in Indian file to spy on the white through a crack, etc.), they do not let any anxiety show. Even when they are surprised, they are not disconcerted. They simply separate, as though nothing had happened. Almost always a hearty laugh will come to terminate the disrupted attempt.

764 Furthermore they are capable of showing emotions that they do not feel. A typical example is the funeral weeping (with tears, screams, exclamations), performed with moving perfection, returning immediately afterwards to the same gay conversation of minutes before, intermixed with immodest laughs; while others, in turn, recite /156/ their part, surrendering to crying, only to turn back minutes later to their habitual gaiety. Perhaps they could be used as theatrical actors.

17) Sentimental life: love, friendship, gratitude.

152
[593]

Their sentimental life does not seem very intense. One never observes displays very ardent with feeling (25).

25. The meeting between parents and children or between spouses, after months or perhaps years of separation, is always invested with the coolness of any meeting, without looking at each other, with those conventional expressions that we have indicated (cf. formalism below). The Missionary Pe. Antônio Giacone was able to observe this very curious episode: the husband had been absent for almost two years in order

/158 cont./

627 /footnote 29 cont./ natives instead use the
628 Portuguese verb with the Tukano ending:
*[192] perdoáya (you forgive), perdoápõ (I forgave).

•[797] He thinks about revenge, and there are numerous episodes /159/
demonstrating that he waits patiently for years for the opportunity,
and they take long trips for the purpose of executing revenge.

*[192] It is an imprescriptible obligation, that of vengeance,
a'mẽ-wehẽ, incumbent on the group, for one of its members
killed or wounded by some civilized man or Indian of another
tribe. Vengeance will also be taken within the tribe against
a native of another subdivision, and even against one's own
blood brother. If he does not execute the vengeance in some
case, it is because he is afraid of counter-vengeance (malefice).

576 In appearance the Indian is very peaceful. One does not hear the natives quarreling among themselves in loud voices, even when it seems to us that there are reasons for it. They even seem very polite among themselves. When, in a group of natives, one among them gave, let us suppose, incorrect information (it should be noted that they do not like to state: I do not know, I am not sure of that), the others do not at the time correct the inaccuracy or mistake. Perhaps one of those present, when he is alone with the civilized, will on request rectify the erroneous information.

726 There is no recollection, except for the legends, of war among the various tribes (30).

*[192] 30. In October of 1947, a few days before our visit to the maloca of the Makú, about six kilometers from Iauareté, on the occasion of a caxirí (celebration with drinking), a machete fight took place among them, during which one Indian died and several were seriously hurt. In January of 1948 in this same maloca there was dissension of

/163 cont./

157 /footnote 40 cont./ cigarette smoke over the several parts of the body. It seems to be a common custom when the woman is lying in the hammock to rest during the day.

Long before daybreak, from three or four o'clock in the morning, laughs can be heard in the maloca, and until ten or eleven at night. They are a happy race; in their /164/ maloca one can hear much laughter and almost no crying. The children themselves cry less than their little brothers of civilization (41): • [797]

> 41. In the children taken into the Mission boarding schools, and even in the small children who are sons and daughters of alumni and raised in the shadow of the Missions, one observes with more frequency and for a longer time habitual crying and shrieking.

crying that lasts a few moments.

152 23) Stoicism.

The Indian is an absolutely perfect type of the stoic and greatly surpasses the ancient Greek philosophers. Man of the present, the future does not worry him. He does not save for tomorrow; he trusts that tomorrow nature will be as favorable to him or more so than today, and he will also work tomorrow. In privation he knows how to suffer hunger with serene tranquility. He does not even think about future pain. The secret of his tranquility and constant good humor rests on this state of mind. As for the rest, he easily endures suffering; he will not moan, however intense his pains may be (42).

> 42. During our frequent visits to the malocas and to the native povoados, many times, with our admiration, we have found individuals, not only adults, but also children, enduring

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

758
761
[755]
● [797]
During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758
797
43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

/164 cont./

758 •797 /footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152 The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fights and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he was never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even before the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1)).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/174 cont./

177 family type, of straw or bark or even of pau-a-pique (3),

342

*[192] 3. By pau-a-pique or taipa (in Tukano di'tá pyákaro) is understood, in all Brazil, the house whose walls consist of a hurdle of pales and laths, which is then filled in and plastered with mud or mortar.

instead of the old and large malocas, baxsá-wi or baxsarí-wi (dance house) (4)

4. That of Parí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, disappeared about 20 years ago, measured approximately 60 by 30 meters, attests Pe. João Marchesi.

for a whole local group.

It is to be noted in the present povoados that all the houses have the same rectangular style. They are, on a small scale, a
• [797] maloca. They are not alike, however, nor do they follow any alignment, except for the cases of intervention by the missionaries. In imitation of the houses of the Mission, today one sees some houses with a small porch or shed.

361 As for the location, it is always on the bank of a river or stream (5).

5. Paulo /Paul/ Rivet characterizes the civilization of these tribes as "mandioca civilization." Perhaps with more accuracy one should say "mandioca and fishing civilization." We have found, especially in the region inhabited by the Karapanã and Tatú, malocas in the interior of the forest 500 or 600 meters from the streams. This distance is dictated by the circumstances, in order for them to protect themselves against attacks and violence.

/178/

342 Having, then, only two openings, the interior is always
373 somewhat dark, being, in part, illuminated by the stoves (12).

> *[192] 12. Sometimes, on one or more posts, which seem planted only for this purpose, they light at night a piece of resin called cicantá, which burns with a quite intense and long-lasting light, and leaves as residue a tar which also serves for calking the canoes.

177 In the modern family-huts, there is customarily an interior
342 partition, generally made of bark. Perhaps this division, which is being adopted, has been suggested by the convenience when
574 they must house some guest, especially the civilized. The Indian ordinarily is very hospitable; he not only receives guests for the great caxirís, but he also shelters any Indian or white who might be traveling. The first division near the door is reserved exclusively for the guests (see VII - 4, e 2 a).

• [797] In some povoados, at the request of the Missionary, they build a large hut that serves for overnight stays of the Padre and as a chapel, when there is no other place reserved for worship.

342 Some malocas (and also Makú huts), in which the roof ends very close to the ground, completely or partially lack side walls.
*[192] Such walls are regularly dispensed with in the oxkóro-áro (Nheengatú tapirí or papirí), or emergency huts, which they make in the distant clearings or on the banks of the rivers where they are accustomed to staying overnight on the occasion of trips and fishing expeditions.

177 Ordinarily the maloca or house is alone and contains all the
342 family household goods. Auxiliary houses, however, are beginning to appear. The maloca of the Tuyuca, described above, has one of these. One of the Indians, knowing a little Portuguese, explained that it was the "succursal" of the maloca. Much smaller and only partially protected by side walls, made of straw
[353] and bark. There were about 14 hammocks reserved for the Makú
[415] in service, the flour oven, sieves, hampers, suspended tipitis,

177 /178 cont./
342 vessels of baked clay, and a cylindrical bark container, quite
353 well made, similar to the straight barrels in which we keep
415 chestnuts and codfish.

Nowadays (and since the time of the discoveries, as the
231 first explorers attest) the dog, which, besides guarding, also
serves for hunting, is found as a domestic animal in the various malocas and houses, and in all the tribes. Ordinarily small, hungry, extremely thin; some do not support the weight of the body. Many of these animals, due to the stings of the fire ant or taxi, have suffered degeneration of the cornea and for this reason have white eyes.

/179/ Here and there in the malocas and povoados are
also seen araras, parrots, mutums /Crax/, jacamins, or domes-
● [797] ticated jacus. The Missions have encouraged the raising of
pigs and chickens. The chickens go back to the first colonizers
[177] of the Rio Negro, and to protect them, by way of a chicken
coop where they are sheltered during the night, they make small conical enclosures with the vertex upwards, or they use some old canoe, turned upside down, with an opening that they close at night, in order that the micura (gambá /opossum/) or some other animal that chases chickens can not enter.

*[192] In the Arwáke languages the chicken is called karáka, probably onomatopoeia for the chicken's voice. Onomatopes are otherwise very common among the tribes of the Uaupés to designate the birds. Perhaps from karáka is derived the word of the Tukano language which means chicken, i.e., ká'rēkē or ka'rēkē (Uaupés ká'nēkē, ka'nēkē). According to this hypothesis, it is from the Arwáke that the Tukano (and the tribes of the Uaupés in general) would have received the first chickens, or at least knowledge of them. Such a hypothesis is made probable, not only by the greater cultural development of the Arwáke, but also by their prior relationship with the civilized of the Rio Negro.

342 It seems that there is no rule with regard to the orientation of the maloca or with regard to the distance from the river or from the forest.

T
M /191 cont./
177 Due to its simplicity, it is known and produced by all the
286 tribes, although it is called "rede de Makú" /Makú hammock/.
Because of this depreciatory name, and mainly because of the
352 present ease of acquiring more durable and economical cotton
hammocks from the civilized, it is beginning to lose its acceptance among the Indians of the other tribes and today is found
almost solely among the Makú and the tribes without contact
T with the civilized. The Tukano tell of having learned from
177 the Desãna how to make this type of hammock. They were not
286 able to clarify whether they had previously used the rede-puçá
352 /puçá hammock/, or if they knew the hammock and slept on
513 platforms.

* T
192 b) Beaten hammock. In Tukano it is called pá-tuke, and
T in Nheengatú, makíra. It is manufactured with a very simple
174 loom (26).

177 26. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, 340) is of the
286 opinion that the loom is of European origin.
This opinion seems acceptable to us, and we believe one could say that the form of the "rede
batida" /beaten hammock/ as well is not of
T native origin, but learned from the civilized.
• [797] This conclusion is confirmed by: 1st, the fact that
not many Indian women know how to make the "rede batida"; 2nd, those who presently know how to do it (as is shown by our inquiries) learned it in the Mission schools or from the alumnae of the Mission; 3rd, we know that the Governador of the Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro, Lobo D'Almada, in his economic plan to encourage industry, favored the weaver's trade, aiming at "the making of the cloth needed for the uniforms of the garrison, the colonists, and the Indians who came down, using eighteen looms and ten spinning wheels, with twenty-four spindles each. In 1798 only 157 Indian women were working as spinners"

/*191 cont.*/

174 177 286 ● [797] /footnote 26 cont./ (A. Cesar Ferreira Reis -- *Lobo D'Almada* -- Manaos, 1940, p. 35); 4th, in the povoados more in contact with civilization, as well as in the more remote malocas, one never finds the "*rede-batida*"; /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ but the natives either use only the hammock "*de trinta fios*" /of thirty threads/ or those bought from the civilized; 5th, it seems that we can discover still another argument, to wit: outside of the Colégio Feminino /Girls School/ of the Salesian Missions, on numerous excursions along rivers and igarapés, in only two povoados did we have an opportunity to see the *loom* and the work of the "*rede-batida*," and in the two cases it was a matter of young women who had learned it in the Mission and did it on order from the civilized. Furthermore: the *terms* of the Tukano language that we have presented in relation to the "*rede-batida*" result from innumerable inquiries at different times and places, with the more educated alumni of the Mission. It is not a matter of an *ordinary nomenclature* known and used by all, as one would expect if the "*rede-batida*" were a primitive industry. Many did not know the *terms*; others presented improper *terms* made up for the occasion. As generic *terms* for the occasion, they sometimes were and sometimes were not understood and accepted by other natives.

[438] Before there came into being the trade in the present cotton hammocks (called in the region *redes-do-Ceará* /hammocks from Ceará/), the civilized women of the Rio Negro and some Indian women of the Içana continued to "*bater*" /to beat/ their hammocks on the primitive looms, as they had learned in the lower Rio

[797] Negro. The Salesian Missions in turn try to keep this skill from being lost, and they teach the Indian women of greater ability and skill, not only how to make the

• 797 /191 cont./

177 /footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by
174 the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths,
286 napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit
modern taste.

*192 /192/ pũ-pá:-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks
286 connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp)
352 has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pá:-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pá:-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the
[237] ouriço /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays
[531] beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

/193 cont./

*192 286 352 *[115] • [797] c) Puçá hammock. In Tukano one says pũ piõke; we call it puçá hammock because it is similar, in the knots, to the fishing nets called puçá in the Lingua Geral (27).

> 27. Pe. Ezequiel Lopes tells that around 1931, among the little Pirá-tapúya Indians from the river Papurí who came to enroll as boarding-school students at the Iauareté school (river Uaupés), some appeared equipped with the puçá type of sleeping hammock.

In order to make this type of hammock, one uses a loom somewhat different from what we have seen previously. It consists of two pairs of vertical staffs, with the small separation of one span more or less. A more variable space lies between one pair and another and marks the length of the hammock desired.

Two threads are stretched horizontally, at a distance of 3 to 4 centimeters apart. Between them the woman starts to make knots or stitches like those of a casting net. They stretch two more threads horizontally, and new stitches are interlaced with the first ones, and so on successively.

This type of hammock is perhaps more work than the "beaten" one. The Tukano call it pũ pyõke, because the line is run through, piõ: and the knot is made by hand.

227 284 *[192] 3) Fishing nets (puçá).

The Tukano call them wehẽ-kõ (28)

> 28. The Salesian Missionary Pe. Eduardo Lagório makes the following observation: "The verb to kill, wehẽ, is interesting; it is used almost exclusively to indicate the death of fish and animals. For human beings, having almost no violent murders, they use the expressions related to the various methods of poisoning."

/215 cont./

252 *[192] 7) Chibé. The chibé, in Tukano po'ká põóke, is prepared with the water flour rich in tapioca. It is enough to take a certain amount of flour in a cuia and add water to it. For example, they take the water directly from the river while they are traveling on it, with a quick movement of the hand, without spilling the flour. They wait for a few seconds, in order for the mandioca fibers that are in the flour to come up (at times they facilitate this, moving the mass with the fingers) and empty out the water from the top, along with these fibers. After a few moments the flour "grows," because of being impregnated with water. The chibé has then been prepared. This starchy water, acid in flavor, is naturally refreshing. The chibé is used as a snack by the Indian. With a cuia of chibé, he rows for endless hours. It is the regular food, or even the sole food, on journeys, and also his dessert after meals.

243 *[192] b) Maize.

The maize, ohó-ka (we do not know whether the Indian sees any special relation between the maize stalk, ohó-ka, and the banana tree, ohó; or if the similarity of the terms is a matter of mere accident), is not only of late introduction, but, moreover, of very restricted use. Properly speaking, there is no maize clearing among the tribes of the Uaupés, but only a few isolated [184] • [797] plants, when there are any. A group from the Karapanã tribe, residing between the rivers Papurí and Tiquié, on the headwaters of the stream Umarí, cultivates maize in greater abundance, but it is almost entirely sold to the Salesian Mission. It is a matter of a variety with a soft and white grain.

273 In small quantity the chewed maize is used, in some cases, to facilitate the fermentation of the drinks.

252 It also enters into the preparation of cakes, through the following process: after the maize is pounded, the meal is sifted and moistened with lukewarm water. With this dough they prepare cakes that are /216/ put on to bake over coals, wrapped in banana leaves. If the woman "has a good hand," they say, a sweet and pleasing cake comes out. It is, however, a food of

/*219 cont.*/

*192

e) *Tubers and green vegetables.*

262 They eat, boiled or roasted, the tubers of the batata, *yaxpĩ* (*hipomaéa* /Ipomoea/ *batátas*, Lam.), of the cará, *ñõmõ* (*dioscórea alata*, Lin.), which were introduced in the last century, and various tubers of the region, /*220*/ such as *duxtú*, *kaxpó*, and others. They do not know the English potato (*solánum tuberósum*, Lin.).

As for green vegetables, they refuse them when they are offered to them, saying that they are not cows (literally, anta, *wexkõ*).

*192 252 263 In the fish sauces, besides the pepper, at times they put tender leaves of mandioca (see above, *maniçóba*). Sometimes, too, they let the mandioca leaves age for three or four days, until they acquire the dark color; then they crush them, boil them, and drink the broth. It is what is called *ki-pũ*.

*192 263 178 They formerly used the ashes of the carurú-da-pedra (*mourera fluviátilis*), which grows spontaneously on the rocks of some cachoeiras, in place of salt, to season their food (52).

52. This plant provides an excellent salad, already salty by nature. The Indian, however, "is not a cow" to eat green vegetables. Wallace tells (*Travels*, 340) that from the fruits of the palm trees *inajá* and *jará* (*leopoldinia maior* and *pulchra*, Mart.), they prepared a flour of salty taste. It has not been reported to us, however, that they make it now, because of the ease of obtaining
• [797] salt. The Indians who work in the Missions buy
whole bags of salt, and later they sell them, even
[439] with exaggerated usury, to those of the more remote malocas, in Colombian territory too.

/232 cont./

184
276
Its consumption is almost unknown today on the lower Uaupés; it is quite general, however, among the tribes of the Papurí and Tiquié, even when they have their regular food. Perhaps the abuse of the ipadú is responsible for the organic depauperation in the elderly and many stomach ulcers. Besides, the individual becomes addicted and his children are born weak, silly, defective (62).

> 62. The Salesian Missionary, Padre João Marchesi, on a certain occasion showed a tuxaua how the son of an ipadú eater was slow in intelligence, did not learn how to read or write, did not have any manual skills, whereas the other children did this quickly.

● [797]
[178]
The young generation, which has gone through the Mission schools, scarcely consumes ipadú any longer.

/233/ 8) /sic: j)/ Conclusion.

252
The natives of the Uaupés take only fruits and some insects raw. Never a piece of meat or fish (63);

> 63. It was not possible for us to investigate as to whether it is a question only of taste and custom, or if superstitious motives also enter in. It does not seem to us that they exist, although in one of their legends it is said that Wãx-tí is the one who eats raw meat.

these foods ordinarily are moqueados /smoked/. And the fish is frequently boiled or reduced to a sauce with pepper, to accompany the ingestion of the beijú.

372
*[192]
[177]
Fire is obtained today with a match, "palito" /toothpick/, as they call it, and they try not to let it go out. Day and night one finds the fire burning inside the maloca, and they also take pots with live coals to the clearing and on trips.

/247 cont./

241 [797] /footnote 76 cont./ plagues (insects) of every kind incapacitate the region for sufficient and economical agricultural production. The problem of hunger, driving away the inhabitants of the Uaupés, has not yet set in (and will be still longer in coming, as we note elsewhere), because it is a matter of small human bands, with a minimum of demands and already partially /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ helped by the food supplies that the Salesian Missions send in monthly from Manáus and other points of the country.

241 161 167 [115] Pertinent here is a talk that we had on the morning of the eighth of March 1956 with the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, who since 1922 has toiled heroically in the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, and which is found summarized in 6 points in our "Diário," the last five of which have to do with the subject in focus. That is: "1st. -- This year a larger number of Brazilian Indians who worked in Colombia died, among them three from Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié); 2nd. -- The Caiarí (Uaupés) has fewer people today than before, and it is going to decrease even more; 3rd. -- The Indians tend to come down, and a good-sized group of them is already established in Tapurucuá (former S. Isabel, on the lower Rio Negro); 4th. -- Many of the Pirá-tapúya of Aracú-ponta (Uaupés) have already come down to the Rio Negro, and others want to come down to there (and actually in our company, and in the same launch, on November 14, 1956, about two dozen Pirá-tapúya came down to Tapurucuá; 5th. -- They are also coming down from S. Luzia (river Papurí); some have already /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ settled near Bela-Vista and Tauá (lower Uaupés), where there are good lands, and they devote themselves to gathering rubber, which they will sell to José Maria

241 /247 cont./

161 /footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of
167 Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the com-
[222] plaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The
[438] land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we
going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or
four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits
• 797 that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season
of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because
all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

/250 cont./

464 and of that of the Amazon (80),

648
80. See "Relatórios" /Reports/ on these
[466] Provinces. Unfortunately, instead of job
contracts, there were deals between the
latifundiários or traders of the Rio Negro
and the tuxauas or those who, in a private
or official manner, established relations
with the Indians or lived among them in
order to take advantage of the forest
[164] dwellers. The latter would come down,
deluded by promises that did not correspond
to reality and were victims of
malaria or other illnesses. The means to
return to their povoados were not made
[273] easy for them to get. Their weakness
for alcohol was taken advantage of, and
months of their services would be bought
with some bottles of aguardiente. The
documented exposure of these "descidas"
/descents/ of the Indians will constitute
quite dark chapters in the future History
of the Indians of Brazil.

and on a smaller scale even today, more or less numerous Indians of different tribes irregularly come down to the lower Rio Negro for the most varied jobs, particularly the extraction of various products (rubber, piaçaba /piassava/, nuts, timber, etc.).

439 Objects of native industry for purchase are not only their artifacts for museum collections or decorations for private homes. Those who live or travel in these regions obtain from the Indians part of their food (81)

• [797] 81. The Salesian Missions have brought great stimulus to the Indians for the production of the means of subsistence, because,

/250 cont./

/footnote 81 cont./ in keeping more than a thousand native children in the regimen of the boarding school, they must buy from the Indian /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ flour, beijú, fish, fruits, game, etc., for their students. During the Second World War traders buying large quantities of flour for those who worked in the rubber plantations of Venezuela and Colombia came by regularly. American seaplanes would come periodically as far as the Papurí to collect and transport hundreds of panniers of flour.

in fruits (especially bananas, papayas, pineapples), flour, beijú, fish, game. It is also the forest dwellers who supply the civilized of those latitudes with canoes, material for the construction of residences (timber, cipo, palms for the roofing), benches, pottery, mats, baskets, strainers, etc. The Indians of the upper Rio Negro and the river Xié devote themselves nowadays to the production of piaçaba /piassava/ ropes, which are sold not only for towropes for the launches of those rivers, but also regularly for the ships of the Amazon River and even for the States.

Almost all the Indians today look to the civilized for hooks, matches, fabrics (and the accessories for the clothing), salt, tobacco, soap. There is less demand for gunpowder, lead, caps for guns, axes, machetes, shotguns. The mercantile practice has already more or less established the prices of the different articles. Nevertheless, the Indians, under the stimulus of self-interest and of certain prejudices against the whites, always want to sell dearly and to buy cheaply or to get something for nothing.

/253/

Chapter VII

Spiritual Culture

000 Man is always the rational animal, and proofs of his rational nature are innumerable and appear at every moment. But also true is the primum vívere, deínde philosophári, that is, one can only speculate after the pressing material needs have been satisfied. The intelligence needs a favorable environment in order to develop; but, even in the most adverse environment, it will always give manifestations of its presence. And these manifestations are many, which entitles us to say that, in a general way, the Indian is intelligent. The relative ease with which he adapts himself to our civilization, with which he learns and speaks several native languages and some ideas from the Portuguese that is taught him in the schools, the perspicacity with which he observes the white, listens to him, and talks to him, are proofs of our assertion concerning his intelligence. Up to now, however, no native from the Uaupés has acquired a secondary or higher education, nor has he shown an interest in acquiring it, in spite of the stimuli offered by the Salesian Missions (1).

● 797
177
153

1. The Salesians count among their members, in the position of Coadjutor Brother, a Taryana Indian with an education higher than a primary one and who is a good teacher of tailoring, with a specialization course in Recife. The Montfortian Padres have recruited for their Instituto two Indians, a Desana and a Taryana. Young women of different tribes are found at present (1958) in Manaus, taking the course in nursing, supported by the Salesian Missions.

The failure of the first attempts is not surprising, because education assumes a civilization, that is, habits of life, of studies, which only a second or third native generation, raised in the civilized regimen, will be able to present.

/253 cont./

121 We shall indicate here the primitive manifestations of their culture (Persönlichkeitkultur), meaning by this expression what these forest dwellers exhibit from their own culture and not received from the white, and which is easily discovered from living with them.

212 /254/ 1. Writing.

A question that immediately arises is whether these tribes know how to write. One can answer that at present they do not know or use any kind of writing (2). • [797]

> 2. With the exception, naturally, of those who have passed through the Mission schools. One notices this peculiarity: they learn how to write the Portuguese language with some facility, but they write Tukano with difficulty. Actually the letters of the Latin alphabet, which we use and such as we pronounce in Portuguese, do not reproduce all the sounds of the Tukano language.

172 532 It is a question open to discussion as to whether those signs that are found on many stones of the Rio Negro and tributaries, that is, the petroglyphs or itacoatiaras (ȭxtã ohoritirí-pa in Tukano), are a writing of spoken language, or at least ciphered language (of which idiom? of which tribe? in which era?); or are only designs, perhaps stylized (sportive signs /Port. sinais lúdicos/) (3).

> 3. About the itacoatiaras, their antiquity and their interpretation, cf. the notable work by Bernardo da Silva Ramos, Inscrições e tradições da América pré-histórica /Inscriptions and traditions of Prehistoric America/. Koch Grünberg, going up the river Curicuriari (tributary of the right bank of the Rio Negro), on February 14, 1904, found on a stone designs with the figures

/257 cont./

804 As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

● 797 872 803 The arithmetic tables already consitute a serious difficulty for the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory. Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

804 805 It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time, as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

*192 823 According to their conceptions, the earth, Di'tấ, is a plain covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Ō'mã̄-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sẽ̄, p.)

[821] They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mẽ̄-kurúri, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kũ̄'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakȭ-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

*192 821 They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yõxkõá, were formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxsã̄, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

/270 cont./

756 On the other hand, he will cast a malefice and will cause sickness in others, and even death. They also attribute to him power over the winds, rains, storms, lightning. And it is also he who will make the children grow, or, on the contrary, make them rachitic. He knows how to predict the future.

He is able to discover criminals when a crime is suspected and nobody was caught in the act.

As a result of his ceremonies, the individuals will be lucky in hunting or fishing.

It is also by the act of the pajé, they say, that the curare has its formidable toxic power; that the drinks become more inebriating or lose this quality of theirs.

From this is to be deduced all the social importance of the pajé and the respect and fear that surround him on the part of all the Indians, not only from his own tribe, but also from other [797] tribes. The renunciation of the belief in the power of the pajé is perhaps the greatest sacrifice that the Catholic catechesis imposes on the Christian natives. In some cases, it is only partially achieved.

b) Means of cure.

755 The means of cure that the pajé uses correspond, in turn, to the magic concept of the sicknesses. He knows and applies medicinal plants, with which he makes potions, prepares powder, *[192] fumigation. They also apply the ablution (Oxkó-pyó-peasé), sprinkling (Oxkó-stáse-peasé), massages (Pá-pwãsé or Tu-bõrosé), suction (Põ-ĩseasé). But, besides this, he has the whole apparatus *[192] of magic power kept ordinarily in a small basket, which is called Wamõ axká-ro (18).

18. To designate this medical kit of the pajé we have also heard the expression Pi'ĩ́-kamõ, if it is a basket, and Wĩhyõ-sáku when it is a bag made out of tururí.

/273 cont./

d) His curing processes.

755 The curing process, even in cases of the use of adequate remedies, of plants of recognized therapeutic virtue, is based on suggestion, or at least it is helped by it. As a matter of fact, from the massages or suction of the ailing part, or from making water fall there from a cuia, they later show the patient (having recourse to prestidigitation, as Koch Grünberg, Z. I. 99 was able to observe) the object (bone, /274/ stone, thorn, insects, scales, etc.) that has been extracted from the painful member and caused him the pains, Waxkarí.

With the help of narcotics or stimulants, he will induce in himself states of crisis or of nervous excitation, during which he sees the causes of the sickness, or those who have caused the malefice. He will be able to make the patient see it too. He will prefer to bring the patient to his hut; or he will go to that of the patient during the night. He will demand the absence of other persons, and, alone with the patient, he will start his practices in an atmosphere of darkness and mystery, muttering very rapidly (21) unintelligible words, sung in a peculiar tone and alternated with loud sighs and groans. They know and perform a series of songs, each one with its efficacy for a given type of infirmity (22), [533] [534]

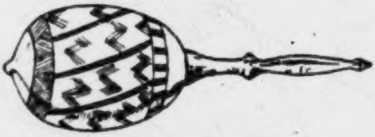
• [797] 21. For this reason they like the Missionary to say the prayers more quickly.

[126] [113] 22. We have managed to record some of those songs of the pajés from the Tukano, Wanana, Taryana, and Huhúdeni tribes, which can be heard in the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/" of the Centro de Pesquisas of Iauareté. Address:
P. Alcionilio Brüzzi, Largo C. de Jesus, 154,
S. Paulo, Brazil.

/274 cont./

755 [533] [534] often accompanied by the sound of the maracá (Yaxsĩ-ga), regarded as a magic instrument.

*[192]



Maracá (yaxsĩ-ga)

The development of this suggestive process is facilitated by various causes. The first one is the mental attitude of the Indian. Then perhaps the natural medicinal effect of the treatment, and coincidences which the Indian will take as a cause. It seems, moreover, that in some cases it is a matter of an unconscious hypnotism, maybe even spontaneous telepathy and magnetic force. Facts of singular telepathic manifestation and others that are amazing and escape any explanation on our part are known (23).

[797] [753] 23. In Iauareté the pajés said that under the foundation of the church was buried a malefic cigar, which would attack the faithful with its emanations. Several cases of tuberculosis actually appeared among the natives, explained, naturally, as the effect of the emanations from the cigar. In Teresita, formerly a Mission of the Montfortian Padres and today of the Instituto of the Missões Estrangeiras /Foreign Missions/ of Yarumal, on the Papurí River (Colombia), six brothers, strong men, died in less than three years, from the malifice, they say, of the Pirá-tapúya Pajé of Umunutinga.

756 731 /275/ It might also happen that in serious cases of illnesses, epidemics, or storms the pajé will invite other colleagues to form a "medical junta."

/279 cont./

755 756 The Indians have been seen digging up a wide and deep yard under the orders of the pajé, in order to uncover the cigar buried there and cause of the sicknesses, and which the pajé will make appear at the opportune moment. On a certain occasion a pajé ordered, and was faithfully obeyed, that the whole floor of the maloca be dug up and replaced with other soil, in order to stop the sicknesses of the maloca.

756 4) /sic; h)/ His position.

With the pajé enjoying the maximum influence (30),

30. Several Indians, after their confidence had been gained, told us that they did not like, but only feared and, at times, hated the pajé. Ordinarily, however, out of fear of the pajé's vengeance, they are silent when questioned about him, about his curing processes, etc.

because, according to the belief of the natives, the life or death of the people, from his and from other tribes, as well as the storms /280/ and all of nature, depends on him, it is understandable that his position is privileged. Although lacking political power, the tuxaua himself and the entire population respect him and fear him (31).

31. Padre Antonio Giacone confirms it -- "By the authority that he enjoys among the Indians and by the fear that all have of his fatal blowings, he becomes extremely proud and conceited, some even reaching the point of being nicknamed Uáque bukque, old God" (o.c. 38).

[766] [797] They fear him even after death, because his spirit is also able to do harm. In Iauareté they asked the Missionary not to bury the pajé in the common cemetery, "because he will frighten our little children" buried there. A Montfortian

756 /280 cont./

797 /footnote 31 cont./ Missionary, Pe. Umberto Limpens (known as Pe. Clemente, the name of his predecessor), found himself obliged to order a pajé to make his hut farther away. In September or October of 1947 a boy was bitten by a snake in the vicinity of Montfort, Colombia, on the left bank of the Papurí. The child's father wanted to take him to the Mission, but the pajé would not allow it, saying that he "would blow" the poison away. He did this, but the child died. The child's father rebelled against the pajé, who directed his blowing against the father, and the latter died soon afterwards. The local population became angry at the pajé. The latter judged it more prudent to flee to the headwaters of the stream Cuiú-cuiú (tributary of the Papuri), where the Desana were in the habit of doing their large-scale fishing, threatening to blow on everyone who went there. The Desana, naturally, became frightened and started the rumor that the Montfortian Missionaries were also afraid of the blowing of the pajé.

756 In order not to have him as an enemy, they satisfy his wishes; in order to have him as a friend and profit from his good services, they give him gifts, even before he has performed any cure. Since his reputation grows with the deeds and cures attributed to him, it likewise wanes with his failures. In view of their being the ones who know the malefices (which they prepare as an instrument of vengeance), the misfortunes and the mysterious and rapid deaths in impressive circumstances are attributed to the pajés; and

/281 cont./

j) Consequences.

755 A first one is that in many cases the sickness is aggravated by the lack of adequate treatment; or the very processes of the pajé /282/ aggravate the ailment and hasten death. In several cases of pneumonia and laryngeal and pulmonary tuberculosis the catastrophe was precipitated by the effect of the ablutions of the pajé (35).

● [797] 35. In Acuricuara, Colombian bank of the Papurí, an individual became sick and let himself be treated by the pajé. He was Christian, however, and, seeing that the treatments were useless, he asked that the Missionary, Pe. Clemente, be called and even went so far as to ask him not to let the pajé come to his house. It was, however, already a hopeless case, and the cure would have been possible if he had put himself under the care of the Missionary earlier.

756 Another very grave consequence of this belief in magic power is the endless vengeance and numerous crimes. Every sickness, death, or misfortune had as its cause some malefice. The pajé will not only try to neutralize this malefice, but, moreover, he will designate someone as its cause, and he will prepare poisons (36)

*[192] 36. As for the poisoning by the caxirí or mingau, they say Nimá tõãsé (nimá, poison; tõãsé, act of giving a drink).

756 627 628 and counterpoisons for revenge. Or he will urge the victim to take revenge after the cure; and if he died, his relatives. Hence the animus of tribe against tribe, and, within the same tribe, of one povoado against another, or of family of the same povoado or maloca, is always stirred up. From which there is even more submission of all to the pajé, on whom everyone depends, and this

/282 cont./

756 627 628 is an obstacle to the development of the Indian's spirit. On the other hand, this same belief has the effect of linking the individual even closer to his own family or group, as a guarantee that he will be avenged for the malefices, and this is already a preventive, because his enemies, fearing the vendetta, will refrain from doing him harm.

k) The xamã /shaman/, convinced or an impostor?

755 There are unsophisticated acts, in which the pajé, for example, takes in his mouth a piece of bone which he will claim to have sucked from the painful organ, or, through prestidigitation, he will show the stub of the poisonous cigar. Koch Grünberg was likewise able to observe this (Z.I. 99).

756 [115] [797] In addition he occupies a position of distinction and very advantageous, thus apt to arouse envy and greediness. For example, a very ugly individual, almost deformed, becomes pajé, and a father, out of fear, gives him one of his daughters as a wife (37).

---

37. This is one of the episodes that was narrated to us by Padre Clemente, a Montfortian of Acuaricuara, river Paca. There came to this Missionary an Indian who for eight years had attended the Montfort school and afterwards had become pajé, "so that the others would be afraid of him, and thus he could make good buys," he declared later. The pajé who had trained him gave him something to breathe, which stupefied one and "made one see many things." He also declared that he had breathed too much of it and became ill, asking that the Padre cure him. In this case, however, a mental disturbance, perhaps aggravated by the pajé's treatment, was verified.

/283/

756 As compensation for services, the pajés are always well paid to the point of having what they need for their maintenance without any more work.

Might he only be a slicker taking advantage of the credulity of his brothers (38)?

• [797] 38. Padre João Francisco Biggiaretti, doctor and Missionary of the Prelacy of the Rio Negro, tried several times, but in vain, to listen and to talk to pajés about sicknesses and cures. Once he went so far as to invite them to a gathering in Pari-cachoeira, with a promise of gifts as well, but none of them appeared.

It does not seem so. Although intelligent and perhaps even endowed with greater culture than the rest of the natives, one cannot believe that he has freed himself from the general belief in the spirits, in the occult forces of nature, which he believes bound up with the processes and ceremonies that the ancestors always used. Perhaps it is from his great power of suggestion that he gets the power to transfer to others his suggestion and the cure.

One cannot exclude, as we have already said, a certain magnetic power or natural hypnotism. Who knows, in some circumstances spontaneous acts of telepathy might take place, all the more mysterious for the protagonists themselves, the more ignorant they are. Even the cures effected by the herbs used, or by the baths applied, and the totally fortuitous coincidences will contribute toward rooting in the thought of the pajé a deep conviction concerning the efficacy of his ceremonies and his own magic power.

[797] The events revealing this conviction in the pajés are numerous. One of them had a son in the boarding school of Taracuá-ponta and, knowing that he was sick, came to visit him and found him being tended by the Missionaries and under medication. He, then, could do nothing. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the moment when everyone had gathered in the church for a religious function, he hurriedly went to his son's side and was caught there, beside his hammock, applying his curing processes to him.

/283 cont./

756 In the same way they manage to convince themselves of their 821 power over nature and often threaten to make lightning strike. They will attribute their failures to the disturbing act of another, [797] stronger pajé. The Salesians had built in Iauaretê the first large pavilion of the seat of the Mission, when, on the occasion of a storm, a bolt of lightning struck the newly built section, with great fright and alarm for all, without victims, however. Days later the Taryana pajé of the locality appeared, very troubled, assuring the Superior of the Mission that /284/ it absolutely was not he who had made that lightning strike. It was a more distant pajé, and his enemy, who had done that, in order to draw the odiosness upon the one who lived in Iauaretê.

755 Some information by Patrícia Vasconcelos (October of 1955) makes us understand that at least some pajés are aware of their 756 own responsibility and have the idea of professional duty. Her [115] uncle Marco is a strong pajé from the povoado of S. Luzia, Brazilian bank of the river Papurí. "He blows a lot, but he does not pour water," said Patrícia, that is, he does not use the process of the ablutions. I would not know whether this is a spontaneous defense made by the young woman; perhaps she has heard some Missionary criticize this therapeutic process, responsible for some deaths of pneumonic patients. On one occasion he said to Patricia: --"My niece, it is a serious thing to be pajé. He must blow right (that is, perform his rites with exactitude). If he does not blow right, [177] he will be punished." Would this be the concept of a judgment after death? And repeating what she had heard from her uncle, the young woman added: ---"When the patient has a headache, the pajé must invoke (?) all the thorns that went into the head of Jesus. All the sicknesses were the sicknesses of Jesus." This, once again, is evidence of how even in the beliefs and the rites of the xamã /shaman/ interculturation of Christian elements is realized.

3) The Komũ, an initiate.

One understands the easy association between the "smoke" and the "blowing," the two important magic resources in the curing process of the pajés.

276 /285 cont./

756 are going to appear and gives them instructions on what they are to do in order to conjure away these and other evils.

[192] There are, besides these, other more solemn meetings, approximately each semester, when he gives his wĩhõ to the Komũá to sniff ("wĩhõ wĩhỹõti kã axkawerẽra-ré peókamĩ"; he sniffs and gives all his relatives his "rappee" to sniff).

4) Sicknesses and cures.

164 There are various sicknesses that attack that forest dwellers and often prostrate them. The principal ones, according to the frequency and the greater number of victims, are:

*[192] a) Verminosis -- Pirõ pũrĩsé (Uaupés Pinõ punĩsé). The verminous diseases attack them even when they are old, but especially the children from two to ten years old, almost 50 per cent of whom fall victim to them (39).

[797] 39. This seriously alarming proportion was pointed out to us by the Missionary Pe. João Marchesi. Naturally this happened and perhaps still happens to those tribes and native localities unprovided with any sanitary assistance. Thanks to the hospitals of the Salesian Mission and the ambulatory-launches which monthly come up the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri, taking to the Indians the sanitary resources and provisions, and transporting the more gravely ill persons to the hospitals, this figure has decreased ten times or even more. Truly /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ impressive episodes of victims of verminosis are mentioned. From the cadaver of the son of the tuxaua of Taracuá in 1934, vermin came out through the mouth, through the nose, etc. In Urubucuara the vermin perforated the abdomen of a boy, who would take them out with the fingers.

/287 cont./

164

[797]

verified cases of syphilis (41).

> 41. A veteran Sister of nursing revealed to us that in her 25 years of nursing there had appeared only one case of a young man afflicted with venereal disease; and, since it was the case of a man already engaged, she thought it was her duty to warn the girl that she should not get married before he had had suitable treatment. She was not heeded, however, with the foreseen lamentable consequences for the wife.

Proving, however, that it is not a matter of any special resistance of the organism to the treponema, the few facts known on the Uaupés and the infection presented by some young men who had just arrived in Manaos looking for work are sufficient. Perhaps they know and use vegetable remedies. And it is also probable that the immunization or cure against syphilis is the result of a spontaneous malaria-therapy, since it is known that the natives are many times afflicted with malaria.

j) Epileptiform attacks. We know cases of epileptiform attacks in persons of both sexes and of various ages. They fall down struck with loss of the senses, almost always spasms and convulsions, followed by sleep and complete amnesia of the event, about which they were informed by witnesses (42).

> 42. For one of the cases we heard the origin of the attacks. It is the case of the Bayá (dance master) Henrique, Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, now (1955) a septuagenarian with gray hair and clear eyes. Some years ago a bolt of lightning struck his house, burning him severely and leaving him unconscious for some hours. Since that

/287 cont./

164 /footnote 42 cont./ time he suffers periodic attacks, and for this reason he is afraid of painting himself for the dances, although he participates in them as Bayá (cf. VII-6, a (2)) that he is. We have watched him, in spite of his years, direct the ritual dances valiantly for 24 hours without interruption.

751 /288/ The magic concept of the origin of sicknesses do not allow them to take the minimum precautions. They will not avoid contact with a person afflicted with tuberculosis or grippe, or skin infection; they will sleep at his side, lie in the same hammock, sit on the same seat, drink from the same cuia, help themselves from the same pot, into which they dip their fingers with the beijú.

● 797 177 The Missionary tries to persuade them, for example, of the danger of contagion in tuberculosis. In spite of this, they do not stop taking caxiri perhaps masticated by a tubercular person.

757 They do not resolve, unless watched and forced, to take a remedy according to the medical prescriptions, in so many doses repeated at such-and-such intervals (43).

[756] 43. The belief in the pajé is suffering a lingering shock from the hospitals and ambulatories of the Mission and the trips of the Missionary distributing remedies. Many of them, at present, not only accept, but even ask for the remedies of the civilized, especially when they prove to have prompt efficacy, for example, the antimalarial remedies, analgesics, etc. They do not submit, however, to subjecting themselves to the prolonged treatment that various ailments demand and do not hesitate to run away from the hospital.

/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is
the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or caríço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale,
as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture
it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto
/countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this
reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs,
even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly
appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[194] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of
[147] the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice
has little elasticity (54).

54. The voice has so little elasticity that
perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and
dances the men never sing; the women do it
infrequently, for example, when they work in
the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however,
that the men's songs are religious hymns, where-
as those of the women are bacchic compositions
that they render when they distribute the drink.
Among the alumni, and especially among the
● [797] alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a
greater elasticity, and one hears humming more
frequently. This, however, is usually the
religious or secular songs learned at school.

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

• 797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

533 Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very [276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the tuxáua sings as follows:

*(192) "mãrĩ bũxkȭrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmȭá baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, [539] yõõ ná pōrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mã̄xsã yõõ pōra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 [562] The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the men. [273] [535] They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule, the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/316 cont./

177 771

> /footnote 2 cont./ book Zwei Iahre. Still today (1957) the Missionaries find Indians scattered through various malocas who claim to have been baptized "by white," that is, by civilized who passed by the region trading.

with their cult, which would impress /317/ the savage, and with their talks or even with their positive catechizing, wishing to bring him to Christianism.

175 797 Tribes of the Amazon and Rio Negro (cf. II - 1) (and those of the Uaupés maintained relations with those of the Rio Negro and Içana) were even evangelized by Missionaries in different times. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits and the Mercedarians were on the Rio Negro, in the eighteenth the Carmelites, in the nineteenth the Capuchins and Secular Priests.

The Christian converts were at times a minority within the group which would continue with their beliefs and practices. Perhaps in some cases an entire group, for example, a native povoado, became Christian, but later lost contact with the Missionaries -- and we saw that the catechizing on the Rio Negro and Uaupés was periodic and intermittent -- and returned to their pagan rituals.

Would there not have remained some trace of these learned teachings and religious practices? There are indications that affirm this, from which it is permissible to infer: what the Indians practice today and declared to us may not be exempt from the influence of the Christian civilized.

771 Another difficulty no smaller than the first one is the reserve of the native, always suspicious, and he appears much more so on these subjects, about which there may even be an obligation to reveal nothing to the civilized. It has been verified that they more easily make disclosures about subjects of morality, which, it seems to us, should remain hidden, than about religious

776 /325 cont./
Urubucuara, Yepásonyá, is also called Yepa-O'Ĩ-kȭ, and some of the old Christians call this one "Son of God."

Each tribe has its legends which express these doctrinal points, as will be seen in another work.

2) Immortality of the soul.

774 Another truth well established among the tribes of the Uaupés is that of the existence and immortality of the soul. This truth, however, is starting to be contaminated by metempsychosis and confused with the existence of spirits disincarnated or that never were incarnated.

*[192] They admit in man, besides the body, õxpõ, another invisible element which animates it and survives after the death of the individual. The natives of the younger generation (therefore the possibility of this being a term learned in catechesis is not excluded) designate it with the same term that indicates the heart, that is, héri-põra (Uaupés héri-põna) (12).

[115] 12. The veteran Salesian Missionary, Pe. João Marchesi, who speaks Tukano fluently, says that he does not remember having heard mentioned another element or "sombra da pessoa" /shadow of the person/, as some primitive peoples believe. In the Tukano language, "sombra"/shadow/ would be called "bahusé," that is, "thing that appears."

*[192] The old ones, however, do not know how to give any clarification about héri-põra; they never use this term to designate the incorporeal element. They call this only wĩx-tĩ (13).

*192
• 797
774

13. Cf. below, VII-4, g (3), what is said about the wĩx-tĩ of the dead. The Catechesis has been using the term héri-põra (or héri-põna, as it is pronounced on the Uaupés and

/325 cont./

*192 /footnote 13 cont./ the Papurí) as correspond-
• 797 ing to: heart, soul, and conscience. When
774 they repeat the teachings of the Catechesis,
the natives naturally give the word héri-põra
this threefold equivalence. The old ones,
however, only use it in the material sense,
to indicate a part of the organism, that is,
the assemblage of the principal internal organs,
especially the heart and the lungs.

774 They admit the possibility that the soul may come out of the body during sleep, and that actually that of the pajé does [756] it often. According to what Koch Grünberg attests (Zwei Iahre, p. 317), the Kubêwãna believe that the soul of the pajés wanders around the forest like "very bad jaguars /Port. jaguares, Felis onca or any species of Felis/" not only after death, but even during life, when they are already old, from time to time becomes transformed into a jaguar, and goes to the forest, where it hunts and eats deer and other animals.

764 On the occasion of the interment they bury with the corpse his hammock, fire (today matches), the cuia for drinking and 775 other objects, so that he will not suffer want in the other life.

/326/ They believe today in the possibility that the soul, 775 upon leaving the human body, may enter into that of an animal. 825 But only into that of the deer or the anta (cf. legends of the Uaupés) and cite examples of the soul of a certain person (24) /sic: 14/

[115] 14. For example, a pajé told Mandú, son of the Taryana tuxaua of Iauareté, Nicolau, that the soul of his mother was incarnated in an anta, and for this reason they abstained for some time from hunting antas.

that entered the body of these animals. They are unable,

/328 cont./

775 The belief in a social life beyond the grave, similar to the present life, with fishing trips and feasts, is still vigorous, as is shown by categorical answers (20).

[797]

> 20. A little gi[illegible]errupted a Religious, who, explaining the Catechism, spoke of heaven, in order to ask whether there were fish there in heaven. Taken by surprise, the Professora answered no. The child added promptly: -- Then I do not want to go there.

Some even think that in the other life there is procreation of children (21).

[797]

> 21. A Missionary relates the following: "Once a lad was very surprised to hear that in heaven there will be a plenitude of life, without need for propagation of the species. He asked, almost disappointed: 'Then there in heaven will there not be any women for us?' "

5) Existence of the spirits.

776 They believe in the existence of spirits that never were incarnated in a human body and never will be; they can, nevertheless, become visible in certain circumstances. Such spirits live in certain places: in the interior of the forests, headwaters of the igarapés, caves, stones, etc.

There are many of them, and different categories, each category with its characteristic way of presenting itself. The description as the Indians bring it to us, however, is not unanimous. And some affirm that they see them or hear them with relative frequency. It is an unquestionable fact that they become

/328 cont./

776 alarmed easily enough, either individuals or entire groups (22),

• [797]

> 22. In the Schools, for example, if a child (more frequently the girls; it is to be noted that it is the women who claim to have seen them more often) yells Wãx-tĩ at night in the dormitory, all of them are filled with panic, cover their faces or turn them to the other side. But also in full /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ daylight they will claim to have seen Wãx-tĩ. A similar event happened in Iauareté during the day, and a little girl threw herself from the upper floor of the Mission building. One of the Salesian Missionaries of Taracuá, Valério Fernandes, was with some little boys in the forest, looking for cucura (a fruit). Some women who were nearby and had not been seen by the boys also desired this fruit. The children went helter-skelter, yelling: "Wãx-tĩ" and ran until they came out of the forest, in spite of the calls of the Missionary. The episodes about which we were better able to ask questions are all explained by suggestion. We heard of other episodes brought about by way of experiment, in order to verify the native belief and suggestability. Even though one later tried to prove this to the Indian, he would not believe it and continues to acknowledge that it was really the spirit.

as if they had seen something extraordinary.

/329/ Some of these spirits are tremendously malevolent and harmful, and others, not. Some admit that they are of the two sexes and multiply like human beings.

/332/

776 [797] Some alumni of the Salesian Mission who have already attended pontifical functions at which the Celebrating Bishop wears a miter said that Boraró appears with a miter, and the noise that he produces is precisely with the miter, which he opens and closes.

[115] A native from Parí-cachoeira, José Barreto, tells that his father, Mandú, not baptized, affirmed (1949) that the "demons" are few and that he had learned this from his own grandfather who had never seen any Missionary. He also said that his relatives, inhabitants of the igarapé of the onça /jaguar/, yai-sa, know the poison with which they can chase away or kill Boraró and that for this reason they have no fear of him at all.

*[192] In other places there are likewise individuals with such power, and for this reason they are called Boraró dohãrá, that is, those who cast malefice on Boraró (dohasé, malefice, poisoning). It is the belief of many that Boraró, upon drinking these poisons, will die.

*[192] Boraró is married, concluded Patrícia Vasconcelos, and his wife has one normal breast, but the other one is exaggeratedly long. According to others, it is Boraró's mother who shows this anomaly, and they nickname women with long breasts Boraró paxkó (mother of Boraró).

c) Bisiu or Juruparí (31).

[115] *[192] [184] 31. A little informant from Iauareté finished by clarifying that Bisiu is Juruparí. According to a legend narrated by the pajé Vicente Rodrigues, Taryana, O'ĩ-kõ is called Yaperíkuli in Taryana and is the brother of Bisíu; the latter being bad and the former good. In the Arwáke legends, Bisíu is identified with Juruparí.

/334 cont./

771 e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

823 821 They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35),

[797] [753] 35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the igarapé Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

/358 cont./

776 /footnote 71 cont./ June of 1953, it ends: "Entonces Yepá Huake dijo a todos los que estaban en Diawí: di pié todo el mundo. Y Yepá Huake desapareció. Y allí se terminó. Y se subió al cielo Yepá Huake." /Then Yepá Huake said to all those who were in Diawí: stand up, everybody. And Yepá Huake disappeared. And there it was finished. And Yepá Huake went up to heaven (al cielo, "to heaven," or "to the sky")./ It should be noted that the native group to which Marco Sierra belongs, as Marco Fulop has it, a group about which we, too, have some knowledge from one of our excursions along the river Paca, are dissidents from the Mission of the Montfortian Padres of the Papurí. As was to be expected, and follows from the narration obtained by Fulop, the whole account by Marco Sierra is a combination of the tradition of the tribes of the Uaupés and of the Catholic Catechesis.

776
797 They can say nothing about Waskõ except what the younger generation learned from the Missionaries of Dom Bosco and of /359/ Montfort (72):

72. It was the well-deserving Padre Pedro Kok, Hollander, from the Congregation of Montfort, who in the beginning of this century first studied the Tukano language, and, in this idiom, he left the first books of Catechesis (Catechisms, prayers, gospels, etc.). His confreres, Missionaries in the Território Nacional do Waupés (Colombia), and later the Salesian Missionaries in the adjacent Brazilian area, followed his

[CONTINUED ON PAGE 544]

/359 cont./

● 797
776

/footnote 72 cont./ orientation with regard to the idiom and, consequently, also with regard to the catechetical language. When we dedicated ourselves to the present studies and sought an interview with this wise linguist who doubled as a Missionary, we learned that he had died a short time before. Of course there remained unanswered the first question that we had asked him by letter, anticipating a promised visit, that is: the origin of the word Wá:kõ. 1st. -- Would it have been of his coinage? And, in this case, would it be derived from the verb wá:, to go? Had he adopted this word (properly speaking, it is the singular Masculine Past Participle of wá:) to indicate Jesus Christ? Why should it be given as the translation of the word God? It is certain that the natives of these tribes have absolutely no idea of the divinity: why did he not adopt, in his catechesis, the Latin word Deus (or Spanish Diós) for the new concept that he was going to teach, as he had used so many Latin or Spanish words (Virgo, gracia, pecado, Santu, Anjo, misterio /Virgin, grace, sin, Saint, Angel, mystery/, etc.)?

2. -- Did wa:kõ come from a confusion of his with the legendary personage O'ĩ-kõ?

On a second trip that we made to the Papurí in 1948, we expressed to the veteran Montfortian Missionaries, Pe. Humberto Limpens and Pe. Afonso Kuipers, the opinion that we explain in these pages and about how it seems to us that "Wá:kõ" meant "the one who is gone," that is, Jesus Christ, who went up to heaven. And we verified that both of them were of the same opinion.

/359 cont./

797
776

/Footnote 72 cont./ When they repeat an idea that the Catechist made them nearly learn by heart, the children of the Mission schools say Wá:kõ. In other circumstances they say O'ĩ-kõ, especially those who have already left the schools years ago. This verification, which dates from our first trip to the Uaupés (in 1947), is what put us in search of the history or legend of O'ĩ-kõ (and which today we also possess recorded in the voices of two xamãs /shamans/), and what led us to infer the dilemma: either the natives are identifying the God of the Catechesis, the Christian God, or, more concretely, Jesus Christ, with the legendary personage O'ĩ-kõ; or, perhaps, Padre Kok, with an imperfect knowledge of the Uaupés legends, thought that O'ĩ-kõ was the God of these tribes and, because he did not observe the pronunciation very well (perhaps because of poor pronunciation by the informant), he began to write erroneously Wáke, as it appears in his books.

*[192]

It is to be noted that the Christian natives who gave God the name of Wá:kõ make up a feminine Wá:ko (thus Goddess) to designate the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Most Holy Virgin, Mother of Jesus, and the plural Wá:mĩra (Uaupés Wá:mĩna), gods, in order to indicate the Saints. The Bishop of Manáus, Dom Frederico Benício Costa, in his interesting "Carta Pastoral" /Pastoral Letter/ (Fortaleza, Ceará, 1909), remarks on p. 166 that the caboclos of the Rio Negro, who spoke the Língua Geral, also used the name Tupana to indicate the Saints, and, when they wanted to distinguish them from God, they called the latter Tupana uaçú.

/359 cont./

797 they do not think about him nor are they interested in him. The
776 conclusion would be, not that they do not know God and do not worship him. But that they do not know Wá:kõ, that is, Jesus Christ, the "God of the whites." They only know, fear, and worship Wĩx-tĩ, the Legislator who punishes their transgressions, permitting them to have misfortunes, sicknesses, lightning bolts.

771 /360/ This is what we were also able to conclude from a conversation with an old Indian, almost one hundred years old
[115] (1947), Casimiro from Ipanuré.

f) Their rules of conduct -- Magic practices.

The native is convinced of the existence of extrahuman or mysterious forces, both personal and impersonal or cosmic, which can be useful or harmful to him, and which it is possible for him to dominate and take advantage of. This is what is understood by magic, considered subjectively.

The entire life of the natives is, for this reason, filled with so many positive and negative prescriptions (73) proceeding from this belief of theirs: or, in other words, it is saturated with magic practices. This is magic considered objectively.

Here and there we have indicated some of these magic practices; there are many others, however. Due to the number of superstitious practices that have come to our knowledge (and how many others might there be?), due to their frequency and application to the most common events of each day, perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to conclude that the mentality of the Uaupés Indians is dominated by the magic fears and beliefs as if this were an obsession, and which, naturally, is reflected and manifested in a large part of native activity.

---

73. These prescriptions, or rather, prohibitions, forbidding one to enter a certain place, to look at, to touch some object or person, is what is today called tabooism.

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgȭ, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] [515] There is a plant called kĩ'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'ná pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

• [797] 79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797] [178] 80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

● [797] 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"

Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giac[illegible]e, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

758 [763] /footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

763 *[192] Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

• [797] [756] 84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797] The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

/372/

764 2) The interment. There is no fixed interval between the
verification of the death and the burial. One even notices a cer-
tain anxiety to bury the corpse as soon as possible. And the cases
763 in which the preparations for this start when the individual is still
764 alive, and even has use of his senses, are not infrequent (88).

• [797] 88. One of the Salesian Missionary Sisters, passing through Umarí (river Uaupés), saw in the maloca four holes in the floor. Surprised she asked the reason. It was that there were four children with whooping cough, and, foreseeing their death, they had already prepared the graves.

Another striking episode took place in Taracuá (river Uaupés) in 1934. The tuxáua Miguel, of the Tukano tribe, was near death, and his subjects prepared the coffin-canoe and placed the sick man there, almost suffocating him with his clothes, hammock, eating cuia, etc. The Missionaries arrived still in time, and, noticing that he was still alive, they moved him to the hospital, and actually he did not die until three days later.

[323] Although they are familiar with ceramics and know how to make vessels of large dimensions, they are not in the habit of burying the cadavers in vessels, nor are there any indications of their having had such a custom.

764 The burial is permanent, and the traditional form is the canoe-
501 coffin, yuxkõ-sõ-koró, that is, in a canoe (89).

*[192] 89. Occasionally, lacking a canoe, we have heard of burial in the caxirí tub in Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí). Pe. André Linssen, Missionary of the Monfort Congregation, did a burial in a mat in Acuaricuara (Colombia,

/372 cont./

764
501
*[192]
● [797]
[177]

/footnote 89 cont./ river Paca). Today one often hears "*yuxkõ-sõ* *mĩrĩ*," there is no canoe (since they do not want to render useless the good canoes that they have), and they bury the dead in some hollow piece of timber, or they ask the Missionaries for a casket.

It will be the old canoe, fruit of his work, companion of his travels and of his fishing trips, or one obtained for this purpose. They saw it into two parts. We were unable to find out what they would have done in the old days, before they had a saw or machete, in order to divide the canoe into two halves. Whether they then did it with the help of fire, or whether they used two small canoes as a coffin. On one half they place the corpse with his hammock, bow, arrow, his cuia with a little flour, a cigar, and some coals on a piece of a pot (nowadays a box with some matches). They cover this with the other half of the canoe, closing the orifices, at present with pieces of wood, rags, or anything, and tie the two parts with strong cords of tucum.

764 The burial with part of the utilitarian objects is usually a survival from nomadism. Today the Indians explain to us that it is "to be used in the other life." Other objects (canoes, machetes, axes, hammocks, etc.) are inherited by the family, or, more accurately, by the /373/ oldest son. It is the symbol of a bond that still endures among the members who are living and those already dead (84) /*sic*; 90/.

[184]

90. Koch Grünberg says of the *Kubêwãna* that they burn and throw away the objects that belonged to the dead person, so that his spirit does not come to punish the survivors for their negligence and greediness (*Zwei Iahre*, p. 314).

/373 cont./

764 although the apparent motive is the ambition and the interests of the Indian. And they have been seen to take long trips in order to acquire some object that belonged to the deceased.

[412] The grave, sufficiently long and not very deep, opened formerly with a simple pointed stick and the hands, is made in the central nave of the maloca (91), without any obligatory orientation. On that place, precisely, where he spent the happiest hours of his life, preparing his bow and arrow, adorning himself with the ornaments, in endless talks with his tribal brothers, and danced during the long nights of the poosé (dabacurí); as if the living wished to maintain union with the dead.

The canoe is then placed in the grave, there being renewed among those present, collectively, the "panegyric-weeping (92).

91. In January of 1948 in Ambaíba (Colombia, river Querari) the Kubêwĩna were preparing a new maloca, when the death of an Indian took place. They buried him, then, in the area of the new maloca. Since this was still without any covering, however, they improvised a little roof of straw over the grave, a meter above the ground, "so that the dead one will not get the rain."

Near Matapí (river Uaupés) there is an island known precisely as the "island of the cemetery," because the Wanana buried their dead there. We do not know whether this was due to the influence of the civilized.

[797] 92. This is verified even for the burials that take place in the cemeteries of the Missions, with the assistance of the Missionary, who many times finds himself obliged, after a few minutes, to ask that they cease the weeping

764
• [797]

/373 cont./

/footnote 92 cont./ in order to proceed with the liturgical absolution. Upon leaving the cemetery, the women were seen making broad gestures with the arms, as if to chase away the malignant spirit, or to cast curses over the one who caused the death. Moreover, they were observed burning nettles around the house where the death had taken place.

Everyone will throw handfuls of earth over the coffin, until the grave is completely filled. In a short time, because of the treading of those passing over it, the ground will be as firm as the rest of the floor, and nothing will reveal that anyone was buried there (93).

93. What Wallace tells (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 637) is not likely: "In some of the larger houses there are, at times, more than a hundred graves, and when the houses become too small and are already full, they then make the graves outside." In fact it is a matter of small human groups, which very rarely exceed one hundred persons; therefore, as a rule, there will not be half a dozen /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ deaths a year. The hot and humid climate promotes the rapid disappearance of the mortal remains. And, besides, no sign indicating graves remains.

/374/ One does not perceive any manifestation of fear from viewing or contact with the body.

765 /377 cont./

53 Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c)) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

171 765 We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

121 831 When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warnings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

797 831 3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

> [115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842
843 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the fetus becomes animated and develops.

582 The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII -- 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

> [797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

/379 cont./

* 192 836 837 /footnote 98 cont./ respectively, adultery on the part of the man or of the woman. According to consultations held with nine persons of both sexes, in different places, the result is that these terms combined constituted an inexpressive redundancy. Wõákẽse or Wõákahẽse means simply relation of the sexes, without the qualification of legitimate or illegitimate by our Christian morals. The addition to the word Wõákẽse of the specific term "with one who has a husband," manapõ-tigo-ne, or "with one who has a wife," nõ'mõ-tígõ-né, does not give it the idea of illegitimacy, which the natives do not even comprehend. Just as there also does not exist in the Tukano language (and moreover in the other native idioms) a term corresponding to the concept of virginity. • [797] Already during our first stay among those tribes, in 1947, the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of one of the girls' schools of the Mission told us how some of the students, upon hearing so much talk about virginity, but having difficulty in learning this concept, came to ask her for more clarification.

836 837 of the bride. Legally virginity can not exist, as will be seen below (VIII -- 1, b (7)). The Catechesis, in referring to the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, uses in Tukano the Latin expression "Maria Virgo" /Virgin Mary/.

837 We thought at first (and so manifested) that the acts characterized by us as conjugal infidelities were not punished because the husband feared the vengeance of the rival or that his wife might leave him. We must change this opinion, in the face of numerous and categorical affirmations by natives of eight different tribes (Tukano, Taryana, Pirá-tapuya, Ipeka, Tuyuka, Bará, Desãna, and Wanãna), /380/ some of whom, well informed about

/381 cont./

835 All the informants agreed in stating that this substitute could beget children with the wife of the one absent (103).

> [115] [797] 103. In September of 1955 the Salesian Missionary Pe. João Marchesi, on a trip of religious and sanitary assistance on the river Papuri, encountered, among the Christian natives of the locality called Melo Franco, an episode that confirms the above information which we had obtained two years before. That is, a married Tukano Indian had been absent for two years, in order to work in the seringals of Colombia. During his absence his brother maintained sexual relations with the absent man's wife, a child being born out of these adulterous relations.

835 851 As for the paternity, however, the answer was not in agreement. Two asserted that the child would be regarded as the child of the true father; while the rest stated that it would be considered the child of the absent husband. Some even added that if he is "good" (sic) he will give thanks for the service that the substitute rendered him, satisfying his wife and giving him a child. It must be pointed out clearly that no financial obligation for supporting the family of the absent husband intervenes for the substitute.

842 847 It seems to us that one can conclude that this partial discrepancy of the information is explained by knowing: 1st -- that formerly the absences must not have been very prolonged, so as to create the problem whose solution we had asked for; 2nd -- that there is frequent use of sterilization and abortive agents, and that the woman regularly seeks to make the interval between her deliveries a space of two or more years.

581 From the above information we think it is to be inferred that the official marriage only aims at the determination of paternity and, therefore, the determination of the tribe to which the child belongs and which attends to (father and mother) its rearing.

842 /385 cont./
847 and use contraceptive and abortive methods. Their own mother
848 (or mother-in-law when it is a matter of a newlywed) will teach these methods.

848 The illegitimate son is called Ko-boxkákõ (literally it means "found by her or hers"; in the feminine Ko-boxkáko), and it does
[192] not constitute an obstacle to marriage for the unwed mother (111)

> 111. In Pari-cachoeira in April of 1954, we were able to see a young Tukano woman (later married to a Desana of Iraiti, river Tiquié) carrying an illegitimate child from her relations with a young Tuyuka man, who at Easter of this year married a young Tukano woman from Pari-cachoeira.

or create a problem for the married mother (112).

> 112. With the greatest ease, Maria Gama, a young Ipeka woman of Urubucuara, speaking to us about her family, told us about having a younger ko-boxkákõ brother.

581 It is considered shameful to have children at once in the
842 first year of marriage, Pe. Humberto Limpens of Acuaricuara,
183 river Paca, informed us. They want children only two or three years after the marriage, and this is also the interval between
[797] children. A demonstration that this is artificial is given by the good Christian mother, alumna of the Mission, with successive children and at once from the first year. One understands the
[462] difficulty of the native mother who, besides the care and nursing of the child, is pressed with the work of the house and of the clearing, if she does not have the help of older daughters.

/387 cont./

628
831
648
At times there are individuals of different tribes participating in the caxiris and dabacuris, and then the same sexual liberties regularly take place between them (116).

116. Koch Grünberg in various circumstances sets forth the sexual liberties of the girls, even with individuals of another tribe (Z. I. 189). A Tuyuka tells him without reserve the intentions of the pairs who leave the maloca: it is the satisfaction of their appetites (Z. I. 372). A young Tukano woman volunteered that in the Dabacuris, when a girl is invited at the same time by men of different tribes, she will first consider those of another tribe. It is perhaps a form of courtesy toward visitors. [574]

592
582
836
797
In the modern regime of family houses (and the problem obviously could only be posed for this regime) the cases of an open and enduring conjugal life outside of the official marriage are rare (117).

117. Although there are also known exceptions in which the Missionary intervenes in order to hasten the marriage. In Acuaricuara, 1946, river Paca, a fatherless young woman of the Suryana tribe went to live with a young man of her tribe, in his house, where he lived in company with his widowed mother. Faced with such a well-known fact, the Missionary observed to her that they should have the religious marriage. The young man appeared favorably disposed and asked the Padre to speak to his mother. The latter, however, not only did not consent, because the young people were from the same tribe, but she immediately expelled the girl from her house. (Event reported

592
582
• 797
836

/387 cont./

/footnote 117 cont./ by the Monfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Linpens /sic/.)

835 Even more infrequent (it is true that they practice so many sexual liberties and are such small groups that such cases could not be numerous) is incestuous concubinage between parents and children (118).

118. A public case in Teresita (river Papurí) between a Desana individual, who would not find a wife, and his own mother.

[842] [847] In these cases they always avoid children, not only with the help of the puçangas /potions/, but also through physical and mechanical processes (119).

119. We learned of a man in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, who had two children from the relations with his own daughter: one was aborted in a few months, and the other one lived only a short time after its birth.

2) Extramarital liberties.

831 We thought at first, and so did the Missionaries, that the licentiousness of the periodic caxiris was merely an eclipse in the upright and normal sexual life of the natives.

It has already been noted that in the most solemn ones, the Dabacurís, the body paintings are executed by persons of the other sex.

[797] /388/ In any caxirí, when excited by the drinks, liberties take place. Outside of the caxiri, testifies Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, "they are aware (120)

120. This concept of the Missionary can

/*388 cont.*/

831 [797] /footnote 120 cont./ only be applied, obviously, to the Christian Indians, instructed in Christian morals; but not at all to the others.

that it is bad, *ya'Ĩ*, and, on the other hand, are very full of shame (?), for this reason they try to hide their miseries and become intoxicated in order to act with more freedom."

[115] They are not embarrassed, however (confirmed another veteran and equally well-deserving Montfortian Missionary, Pe. Humberto Limpens, of Acuaricuara, who has spent almost 40 years among those tribes), about the immoral occurrences in these circumstances. Sometimes they even boast of them as being conquests.

As a conclusion from the testimony and inquiries made in various circumstances and in different places among the most reliable individuals in them, we can affirm that they judge *licit*, *good*, and *recommended* the sexual relations during the caxiris, as well as those that we characterize as *incestuous* (121).

[835] 121. Incest by the father with his own daughters is narrated in the legend of the mysterious instruments. And the same is found in other legends. We did not hear, in the legends, about cases of concubinage between "blood brothers and sisters" or brothers and sisters by the same parents. It seems that this does cause them horror.

They even take on, according to what they think and testified, a religious character. As a matter of fact, some informants answered that these sexual liberties used to take place "for the good fortune of the tribe," "in order that the clearing would yield better."

/389 cont./

864 d) Sexual education.

With regard to this subject, the precocity of the children, especially of the female sex, is remarkable. It surprises us to see how individuals who on the outside still look like children are subjected to the rite of the puberty initiation (see photo).

How much they appear to know is an even greater surprise. Children still quite young know perfectly all the mystery of life, like any adult.

• [797] [581] The girls enter the mission schools at seven or eight years of age, and at this age they not infrequently reveal full knowledge of this subject. Sometimes the thought that already absorbs and preoccupies them is that of marriage, a Missionary Sister Superior revealed to us. They talk of that often, and perhaps they might already even know whom they are going to marry, according to the customs of the tribe and the desires of the parents.

The school of this discipline -- is the maloca with its regime of life, where there are no partitions between the families, where all the licentiousness takes place before the eyes of all and thus the intimate life of each one is known by all. According to the information obtained, the mother herself will give explanations to the daughters and will teach them the sterilizing and abortive resources.

[276] [593] For example, in the intimacy of the malocas or huts during the warm hours of the day, destitute of any clothing at all, the husband will not infrequently amuse himself by blowing the smoke from his cigar over his wife's body. We say he amuses himself, because he does it amidst noisy laughter, as we were able to hear, without excluding the fact that they admit some magic virtue in this rite.

831 The nudity, especially along with the dirtiness, appears somewhat repugnant. Besides, the psychological axiom "ab assuétis non fit pássio" /passion does not arise from what one is accustomed to/ is quite true. And so the influence of the nudity seems somewhat attenuated.

648 /390 cont./

466 Nowadays more or less numerous and frequent groups of Indians, men and women, are taken, especially the single ones, for the extraction of the cuquirana, balata, chicle, rubber, Brazil nut /Port. castanha, "chestnut," various species of trees yielding edible nuts/, piassava, in both Brazilian and Colombian territory, or as sailors for the launches. They see, hear, and practice vices and immoralities (125).

[837] [797] 125. The Missionary was scolding a Christian Indian from Urubucuara, river Uaupés, because, in spite of being married, he was living with another woman. And when he reminded him of the commandment of God, he heard from the Indian this expression, certainly learned from some civilized: -- "Commandment does not hurt."

166 One observes a tendency to go down to S. Gabriel (present city of Uaupés) and Tapurucuara. To Manaus, not so much. So far nostalgia periodically brings them to the natal places. How long will this state of things last? 164 The known cases of venereal diseases are very rare, although the legends already allude to them. This rarity is perhaps explained by the simple spontaneous malario-therapy (cf. VII - 2, e (4 i)).

It is certain that for centuries they have been in more or less frequent and enduring contact with the civilized. It is difficult to determine whether some responsibility falls on them in such a state of things, and up to what point. The problem is serious.

797 One also understands from this that there cannot always be good harmony in the relations between the Missionaries who live among the Indians, trying to bring them to the bosom of civilization and to the practice of /391/ Christian truth and morals (126).

126. The difficulty that the Missionary faces in order to implant Christian morals is great.

/391 cont./

797 /Footnote 126 cont./ Pe. Antônio Giacone recalls: "This belief (immortality of the material life, VII-2, e (1)) makes them almost insensitive and apathetic to the teachings of the eternal truths. They abandon with difficulty the corruption in which they live" ("Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," p. 31).

and some civilized person who, for other reasons (perhaps in contraposition to those of the Missionaries), appears or resides around those regions. Which is the truly humane and patriotic attitude? What will the responsible persons decide?

6. Feasts and Amusements.

a) Feasts or Caxirís.

527 1) Caxiri. We have presented the "poosé" or Wĩx-tʃye baxsá (in the Língua Geral, Dabacurí) as a religious rite. It does not seem, however, that all their feasts and dances are religious ceremonies. Rather, some evidently are simple entertainments

*[192] and are called pêru-sĩrĩrĩ-nãmã (Uaupés, pêru-sĩnĩ-nãmã) or caxiri (in the Língua Geral) (127).

127. This is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg (cf. Zwei Iahre, p. 372; cf. Note 39 /see p. 502/, VII-4 e) 2 a 2nd).

Actually, in some cases they are almost improvised; any reason at all, or even a simple request by a civilized visitor, is enough for a feast. Participation in such dances is not required; but, while some pass the time entertaining themselves, the others remain seated on the small seats or lying in the hammocks, talking and laughing, and at times making fun of those who are dancing, because of some inaccuracy in the movements.

/408 cont./

582 are not observed, their wishes are not consulted, and their age is not a matter of concern (1).

• [797] 1. Not infrequently the Missionaries have to intervene, even among Christians, in order that the marriage of children who have not yet reached nubile age, according to Brazilian and canonical legislation, will not be performed.

Virginity is not required, since, as we shall say, it can not legally exist; and there are no other conditions, except the agreement of the parents of the ones marrying, once the laws of the tribe, which we shall present in the following, have been observed.

1) The laws of marriage.

*[192] a) The first and inviolable law that is observed in native marriage on the Uaupés is that of tribal exogamy, Axpé maxsɨ nǭ'mō̆tise.

We noted (IV -- 2, a (2)) that there are subdivisions in the tribes. However, at least in the present regime, there are no subdivisions for matrimonial purposes (2).

2. As far as the tradition goes, it can be affirmed that tribal exogamy has always been in force. And, according to the legends, it seems that it can be advanced that the obligation of exogamy goes back to the origin of the tribes, or at least to the establishment of these nations in their present habitat.

Those of one tribe must obligatorily look for wives in another tribe. We are not facing, for now, the question as to whether this law has been imposed as a political measure, in order to avoid wars and murders between the tribes. We know, indeed, that, in spite of the exchange of women between two tribes, the contentions between them are frequent.

/411 cont./

582 601 As an exception, the individual, instead of marrying a girl from the generation of the Baxsúkĩ̄ra, perhaps will marry someone from the class of the "uncles" /Port. tios, uncles, uncles and aunts/, Mẽx-kā̃-sa or Mā̃-gõ. It is the components of this class who are now his brothers-in-law, Pẽ-ñā̃. In Tukano he may continue to call them "uncle," Mẽx-kā̃, or (if it is a matter of the niece) Mẽx-kā̃-sa, and in direct discourse he will use the name Pirĩ for the brothers-in-law in the strict sense.

584 2nd. -- A second one is that the negotiations and agreements are realized between the parents, without the ones to be married interfering or being consulted (8).

• [797] 8. It has happened that the father has brought a wife for his son who is a student in the Mission school, forcing him to leave the school bench in order to marry.

It is highly reprehensible that, while the children enjoy enough freedom in the native family (it can be affirmed that those of the male sex enjoy absolute independence from the parents), on this subject, so serious because the marriage is indissoluble, they do not have any freedom at all (9)

9. "Slave marriage" was the expression of one Missionary, citing examples of the absolutism of the parental will against the manifest wishes of the young people.

and show the greatest docility toward the wishes of their parents.

581 [584] Neither marriage for love nor the practice of courtship is known among them. It even seems that they are indifferent to physical beauty: it is certain that in all human groups there are individuals who are more or less sympathetic. No doubt these personal reasons might have an influence in premarital and

/411 cont./

581 extramarital relations, but never in the marriage (10).

● [797] [177] [584]

> 10. Through the influence of the Missionary they have been freeing themselves from these ancestral prejudices, and already cases of marriage through the initiative of the ones getting married, alumni of the Missions, are known. Nevertheless it happens (narrator Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Papuri) that the young man asking for the intervention of the Padre in order to help him find a wife will prove to be indifferent concerning the person. He will say, for example: "Padre, please do me the favor of asking Joaquina, Amélia, or Maria whether one of them wants to marry me."

Marriage does not represent the satisfaction of the sexual instinct, as we had thought and wrote in the beginning, because we found out that this satisfaction has the fullest opportunity imaginable. Marriage, for the individual, is the solution of his economic problem: to have someone who will provide him with food. But it is especially the solution of the social problem: the continuation and propagation of the tribe.

/412/ It is surprising that, in spite of this, family life goes on normally enough. The only plausible explanation is the great respect for the traditional laws establishing the relations between the spouses, and their duties; laws which are faithfully observed.

584 3rd. A third one is that, in order to obtain a wife for an older son nowadays, perhaps a newborn child (11)

> 11. It does not seem that there are any agreements between the parents about children to be born, because it is contrary to the psychology of the Indian, who is a man of reality.

/416 cont./

593
586
• [797]

> /footnote 19 cont./ Pari-cachoeira, a Desana woman married to a Tuyuka from Cabari (a little above Pari-cachoeira), in view of the bad treatment by the husband, abandoned him and a little child a few months old and returned to her povoado on the lower Tiquié. Up to July of this year the Missionary had not yet managed to have her return to her husband.

especially if they do not yet have any children, because the marriage is not yet stabilized. And, finally, it is she who works for him in the clearing and in the house.

593
[587]

/417/ Although there is no law that obstructs divorce or that makes it impossible for the divorced person to go on to other nuptials, both always have before their eyes the difficulty of a second marriage.

That will not keep them from having misunderstandings, or the husband, especially if he is drunk, from beating the wife. Of the many whom we questioned on this subject, all affirmed to us the bad treatment and even cruelties on the part of their husbands.

The woman, however, will never react, because this is what the tribal laws command (20).

> 20. We have had news, moreover, of some episodes of reaction on the part of the woman, especially when she perceives that the husband is weakened by drunkenness. It is one more blow that their customs and beliefs have started suffering.

593
521
[115]

There is an original and somewhat strange custom, as follows from the report by the Taryana Indian Teodora from Iauareté, confirmed by natives of other tribes. During the day and in the early hours of the night the spouses maintain long conversations with each other in the maloca, each one, for example, lying in

/418 cont./

● 797 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as
595 follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year
1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were
destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had
its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from
whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier
Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activi-
ties, dated from Caruru-cachoeira the first of April of 1853,
Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some
time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians
because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (*Archivo*
595 *do Amazonas*, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of
this century Koch Grünberg (*Z. I.* 178) testifies that polygamy
622 is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José,
Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka
and the other Taryana.

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797] 24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4)) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this *taboo of the name* by the "*ontological mentality*" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but *essential*, and is

/422 cont./

562
622
756
[797]

/footnote 29 cont./ many of them have never in fact heard of any woman Tuxaua. Someone answered us precisely that she can be Tuxaua, but they had never heard of a woman Tuxaua. It is to be noted that in the Tukano language there is the feminine Wyógo, a term that is ordinarily applied to the wife of the Tuxaua (Wyogô) and, in the Missionary centers, also to the Irmã Superiora /Sister Superior/ of the girls' school. The example of Caridade (p. 709) seems to authorize our affirmation above.

not, however, those of pajé. This exclusion perhaps expresses, not so much contempt, but the concept that she is not endowed with the magical power necessary for the exercise of the office of pajé.

593
[586]

In marriage she seems to enjoy even greater freedom than the young man, being able to leave her husband. It must be concluded then that, although recognizing the primary of the husband (as also happens in our civilization), considered from the domestic-social point of view the wife is on a plane of equality with the husband (30).

30. We recently verified that this is also the opinion of Koch Grünberg, who, after prolonged contact with the Kubewana, was able to conclude that the woman is not the beast of burden, but the intelligent lady of the house (Z. I. 354).

8) Moral condition of the woman.

562
[115]

We once heard from a maiden the expression: "the woman is not worth anything." We questioned many other women, single and married, and all confirmed the accuracy of this concept, without knowing how to give further /423/ explanations. Only one added: "the woman must leave her own tribe."

/425 cont./

858 b) The Children.

The natives want children, hence the general fact that all constitute regular families. The fertility of the marriage is an essential condition for its validity. The birth of the first child seals the implicit contract of marriage and stabilizes the marriage, changing wives no longer being possible.

[842] /426/ They desire, however, male and female children alternately; the former are the perpetuators of the group, the latter, besides the work that they will perform, facilitate the marriage of the male children by the exchange process. If three girls are born consecutively, the Indian will blame the wife, thinking that it is her fault (34).

[847] 34. An example was mentioned to us in Teresita, river Papuri, Colombia. At the birth of the fourth child of the female sex, the mother buried it alive. The Missionary

• [797] asked: "Why did you do that?" -- "Because my husband reviled me."

As to the number of children, due to the difficulties in raising them (especially because the whole burden falls on the mother), numerous progeny are not found. Six or seven children occur with some frequency (35).

[145] 35. It is to be noted that the girl does not always marry young. And, on the other hand, the type of life ages her precociously, and perhaps her fertility ceases quite prematurely. It was not granted us to verify at which age the menses stop for the woman.

[841] We know, to be sure, that menstruation begins around 14 years of age and that they know and use plants for the regulation of the monthly courses.

/427 cont./

562
847
/footnote 40 cont./ out whether some pajé, who foresaw the sex of the child to be born, might have intervened in the case.

845
847
3rd. -- That of twin children. One of the two will be eliminated; usually the second one, unless another reason counsels the contrary. For example, they will preferably eliminate the defective one, or the girl. It seems that the reason for this crime is the difficulty, for the mother, of raising two children simultaneously, with all the work that falls to her; and no other reason of magical or superstitious character (41).

● [797]
41. The Missionaries have managed to save and raise some twins, and, when grown, that is, after four or five years, the parents receive them willingly, or rather they demand them.

Patrícia Vasconcelos said that the husband beats the wife when she gives birth to twin children.

[736]
Nevertheless this different way of acting causes surprise: when a child becomes orphaned by losing its mother, it will not be killed, but will pass into the care of another woman. When, on the other hand, it is a matter of twins, no woman will take on the burden of raising one of the newborn children, even when there is some newly lactating mother who has just lost her child (42).

[115]
[231]
42. Pe. Antonio Giacone confirms this, saying that he saw new mothers emptying their breasts, or nursing some little dog, rather than feed someone else's child (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 53).

[736]
Even in these cases there does not appear to be any superstitious motive, but only the selfishness of the women and no friendship at all between them. If they take care of the orphan, it is due to the inviolable imposition of the irrevocable customs of the tribe.

/427 cont./

845 847 4th. -- That of the defective children. Any noticeable physical defect is fatal to the newborn child. And it can not be believed that it is a matter of a magical reason, but rather, on one hand, the great vanity of the parents, above all of the mother, and, on the other, the thought that it will be a burden to the tribe, which /428/ needs perfect and strong individuals and desires only those. The deaf-mutes escape more easily (as was confirmed) because it is not until much later that they manage to verify their defect.

2) The delivery.

844 The delivery is considered a physiological operation of the woman, like any other, and will not excite attention or care. In spite of the lack of hygiene and of preventive measures, these daughters of Eve seem to have the most normal delivery in the world. Many times they keep on working until that moment (43), and shortly afterwards they begin their normal working life again.

The men, however, will leave the maloca (or wherever the delivery takes place), perhaps leaving the parturient woman in pain, because it is ordered that they cannot witness it. For this reason, if there are guests in the maloca, the parturient woman will withdraw inside some apartment, if there is any, or they will prepare it in time for this purpose, or else she will leave the maloca in order to give birth in the forest. Just as she must also not have in the place any ax, machete, or any other object of iron or metal.

● [797] 43. There was related to us by the Salesian lay Brother, the Agronomist Teotônio Ferreira, the case of an Indian woman in S. Gabriel, who worked in the clearing in the morning, bore a child in the afternoon, and on the following day came to resume her work. There are frequent cases in which the Missionaries order them to take a rest and they refuse.

/429 cont./

844 and takes the child to the river for the bath.

Except in rare cases of a difficult delivery (or very rarely
846 those of death), the mother soon takes up her household cares and
tasks again. The husband, however, considers himself in a state
*[192] of pregnancy, Nihĩ-pkõ from Nihĩ, child, and pax-kõ, father.
For this reason he must rest or be sheltered, Sihyogõ, for six days
(46):

> • [797] 46. We have seen some of the Indians who have attended the Mission schools subject themselves to such a custom. And they answer the words of the missionary who tries to show the uselessness of the custom: "The old ones want it this way."

he will not work, he will avoid leaving the house, taking the sun, he will spend the greater part of his time in the hammock and subject himself to a strict diet. "If the father works, the child will get sick, will cry day and night," so they explained to us.

593 It is the concept of the bond between the father and his child, as though the father himself were being reproduced. Everything, then, that happens to the father can not fail to affect the child. Since effort or a heavier diet would harm the child, the father must abstain from these things (47).

> 593
> 755 47. This belief in the intimate connection
> between the health and well-being of the father
> and of the son holds not only during the first
> days of the newborn child, but also during its
> whole life. D. José Domitrovitsch, when superior
> [115] of the Mission of Pari-cachoeira, was able to
> witness the following episode: Julio, the local
> Tukano tuxaua, upon learning that his son Mandú
> (the present tuxaua, 1956) had been bitten by
> a jararaca, left work, went to his house, put

/434 cont./

855 191 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The 866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

> [797] 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

/435 cont./

866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56) are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 868 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this [797] with difficulty. At present, in the educational establishments of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

/436 cont./

562
868

> /footnote 57 cont./ teach or perhaps the daughter does not want to learn. It is a fact that we verified many times: the daughters do not know everything that their mother knows and does.

By preparing their small bows and arrows for amusement or by watching the men work, and sometimes by helping them spontaneously, the boys also become skilled in the different masculine tasks (58).

[462]
[797]

> 58. Never, however, in the feminine ones. They used to laugh in the beginning, Pe. João Marchesi told us, when they saw the Missionary light the fire and prepare his own food, because "it is woman's work." Nowadays one already sees a man of the younger generation, who went through the Mission schools, carrying one of his small children, while the wife is loaded with an aturá on her back or other great burdens.

It is all an intuitive process of apprenticeship, arousing the interest of the children, developing the capacity for imitation that they possess, deeply rooted, in an environment of freedom, happiness, and well-being. A conjunction, finally, of conditions in accord with the native psyche, and, for this reason, assurers of a happy result. Not infrequently the young men become more skilled than their own fathers.

476 There are many tasks that they perform collectively, or at least with the help of others, such as felling trees, cleaning the clearing, building houses, making the canoes. These are done with the display of a greater cheerfulness and emulation, which favor the growth of love of the work and of doing it nicely.

/436 cont./

868 It can be affirmed without fear that the parents are interested in the material education of the children. It is the father's ambition that his son will be a competent fisherman, boatman, or hunter (59).

● [797] [829] 59. Today many parents are already interested in something more, and they bring their children to the Mission in order for them to be made "whites." A parent, bringing a girl of about eight years old to the school, recommended to the Directress that she "educate her, teach her Portuguese, in order that later she might be able to marry /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ a white." After he has spent some years in school, the child considers himself superior, and is regarded as such by the others. He has become "white."

For this reason he will not deny him his advice and his experience.

/437/ 7) Puberty initiation.

881 By puberty initiation or "rite of passage" is understood the official entrance of the individual, who has reached puberty, into the social life of the tribe, coming to take responsibility for his actions. For this he will also receive the necessary instruction on the "customary law" of the group to which he belongs, the obligations and rights of the individuals. And also, only for the boys, the explanation of certain customs and the legends which constitute the historical and cultural patrimony of the group.

[562] [869]

Both those of the male sex and those of the female sex must be subjected to the "puberty initiation rite" (60).

[797] 60. The Missionaries, with patient and prudent action, have managed to alter the native customs, although slowly, with the adoption of Christian

/437 cont./

881 [797] /footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

562 881 after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192] a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩrĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

[115] 61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwãke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed. [171]

According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

[115] 62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũá, instructed them. It was, however,

/439 cont./

562 881 Naturally one can not mark the date for this beforehand. It is likewise understandable that it is practically impossible to perform this rite with an entire group, as in the male initiation, if we consider that they are small povoades or only a maloca.

*[192] /440/ The first menstruation is a dangerous event for the young woman; she may be a victim of Bisíu (VII -- 4, d (5 c)). Bisíu a'mõsé-re baásamĩ, they say, that is, Bisíu eats the menstruation. As they explain, to eat means that he will come to fecundate her (69).

> [177] [797] 69. A singular phenomenon of acculturation or adaptation has been taking place. A girl, for example, is in school at the time of the first menstruation. She will perform the rite perhaps many months later, when she returns to her povoado. She does not wait, according to information from the young women themselves, until the next menstruation comes to perform the rite. As for the rest, she follows exactly what the customs dictate.

[756] (See Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/.) The maiden then will be the first to announce the fact and to request the intervention of the pajé or Komũ (70).

> [829] 70. One of the young informants asserted that the maiden will be happier if she does this rite with a stronger pajé. Another added that she will be still more so if it has been with a white.

Besides, the rite is desired by the girl, not only because it gives her freedom for the public sexual relations, but also because, according to her convictions, this rite is going to assure her happy deliveries, as various young women testified. For this reason no maiden would dare to marry without the puberty rite and the mõ-yoãsé (coitus of initiation). Some nubile maiden, especially

/440 cont./
those educated in the schools, might perhaps say, out of shyness (71).

562
881
[115]
● [797]

71. The young Tukano Patrícia Vasconcelos, an orphan raised in the Mission of Iauareté, and who, until she was 25 years of age (1956), spent the greater part of her life in the schools of the Salesian Missions, has always denied having submitted to the puberty rite. Although in a conversation on March 9, 1956, apart from any subject, she came out with the statement: "Now the rite of initiation is not done any longer," on many occasions she has affirmed that the natives "all, even people of confession and communion, continue to do all these ancient practices, even the alumni and alumnae of the Mission." In September of 1955 in Taracuá, apropos of the puberty initiation rite, she said literally: -- "Even the Christians do this." Around the fourth or fifth of March of 1956, she related an episode that had happened to her the last time she had been with her relatives in S. Luzia, from September of 1955 to February of 1956, an episode which documents how even from the Christian natives one only slowly manages to eradicate the primitive beliefs. One day she felt somewhat ill (the common discomforts of women). Her uncle Marco, who, although Christian, continues, as pajé, to practice the "blowing" and the other Xamã /shaman/ rites, asked her whether she had already performed the puberty rite. Answering that she had not as yet, her uncle went on: "That is it, my daughter (sic), that is because you have not undergone the rite. Shall we do it now?" She did not accept (she told us). Then the uncle gave her the explanation about the discomfort and about the usefulness of the puberty rite, which we transcribe.

592 /462 cont./
622 and directs the collective work of the women, especially the
574 preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on
her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests
/463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances
[535] she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá
*[192] (VII - 4, e (2 a 2)). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here,
although the index number is missing./

[123] 98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

● 797
622 On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

> I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

/463 cont./

797
622

son, Manoel Silgueira, imposing on him the following conditions:

1st. -- To care for the Chapel and the Missionary's house.

2nd. -- To oblige the residents of the said Mission to finish making the houses started, even to make those which they have not had made.

3rd. -- To divide the Mission into streets, during the building of the houses.

4th. -- Every three months, to send (if the Missionary P. is not present) a resident from here to where the Padre is, in order to report the deaths, births, and the usual news during the said three months.

5th. -- To oblige everyone to make their clearings for their own maintenance, and in order to provide for their necessities.

[567] 6th. -- To forbid absolutely the sale of the Macú natives, as well as to impede, in any way possible, the so-called pega-pega /Port. pega, fetters for fugitive slaves/.

/464/ 7th. -- Finally, in case of necessity, to provide people for public service, that is to say, when the Missionary arrives, he must give the people whom he wants for his passage.

In the firm conviction that the said Sr. Principal will fulfill the conditions indicated above, I pass to him this document, in the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara on the fifth day of the month of December of 1882.

Sgd. Frei Venancio Zilocchi
Miss. Ap. Fno.

To Capitão João Silgueira, Sr. Principal of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara (a lapis).

Visa P. João Bálzola Salesian
August 7, 1923

/464 cont./

797 (printed)

622

FRIAR GESUALDO MARCHETTI

of the order of the Minor Observantists of St. Francis, Prefect of the Missions, etc. Considering the good qualities and good behavior of the neophyte João Silgueira -- we appoint him Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, having to fulfill the orders of the respective Rendo Missionário or of the nearest one.

This appointment will last one year, when the year is finished the above-mentioned Missionary will again confirm it, not having any reasons to the contrary.

Hospice of the Propaganda Fide in Manaus May 30, 1885 (Prefecture of the Missions. Provincia do Amazonas, Fr. Gesualdo Marchetti)

(Manuscript) The below signed, in view of the death of Capitão João Paicana Silgueira of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara, passes the above-mentioned patènt to the Indian Manoel Iépassonia, legitimate son of the above-mentioned Capitão.

With faith in what I sign

Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara of Pary Cachoeira January 29, 1886

Frei Matheus Canioni
Miss. Apost. Franc.

(a lapis) Visa Pe. João Bálzola August 7, 1923

622 e) The succession.

The tuxauaship has always been a lifelong position and title, and the deposition of one and election of another has never been reported. The latter happened only after the death (perhaps caused) of the former tuxáua. In case of recognized /465/ disability, he still continues to retain the title, and his oldest son will exercise the functions in the meantime.

/466 cont./

622 f) Government and justice.

Even in olden times the tuxaua's power was tempered by the power of the heads of each family, which, as we said, is autonomous regarding its normal life, its trading, its clearing, etc.

622 It was, likewise, moderated by the ascendancy of the Komüá,
the "Elders," who still today preside over the dances, take part in
623 the giving of the name to the child, in the initiation of the young
men, practice the "blowing," etc. The "Elders" constituted a
true Council or Senate of the Tuxaua, the Büxkõrá-kurá; and
even today continue with such function and choose the new tuxaua.

622 The absolute chiefs have always been an exception, which sometimes provoked reaction by his subordinates (102).

[159
648] 102. José, Tukano tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, died poisoned by those of his maloca; properly speaking, by his second wife, a Tuyuka, with the connivance of the other inhabitants of the maloca. During the time of the encarregado dos índios /Indian Agent/ Higino Albuquerque, of the SPI, José exercised in truth a despotic power: he forced the Indians to work for some of the civilized, thrashed the women so that they would make the flour more quickly, etc.

797 Among all the tribes of the Uaupés a democratic regime has always
622 been in force. It is remembered, however, that some tuxauas, in
contracting for service with the whites, -- one of the functions of
648 the tuxauaship, -- demanded payment without work, or even
keeping almost everything for themselves and distributing little to
the others, so that the natives came to ask the Missionary to make
the distribution of the payment to them himself.

627 The administration of justice, in the strict sense, does not fall to the tuxaua. There is not even a judiciary or customary penal Law. The questions that arise among the components of the group are resolved among them under the dictates of reciprocal vengeance

627 /466 cont./

[623] or fear. The tuxaua, nevertheless, frequently acted as an arbiter, reprimanding the guilty ones, threatening them, imposing on them restitution of the object stolen or an indemnity, and, as maximum punishment, expelling the undesirables from the maloca; always, however, in accordance with the Komũã́ components of the

[681] Bũxkõrá-kurá. They have never known the penalty of prison /467/ or corporal punishment. It should be kept in mind that with their type of life, and with the native mentality, innumerable cases that fill our penal codes do not arise.

g) Associations.

● 797 857 In the Mission schools it is observed that, although the various tribes with representatives among the school children live together in friendly fashion, the groups of each tribe readily separate in order to play among themselves. A Religious Superior of the Filhas de Maria Auxiliadora (Salesian Sisters), with more than 25 years (103) of residence among those tribes, informed us that there was always a girl with ascendancy over the rest, a true "tuxaua," whose orders the others obeyed promptly, although transgressing school regulations and the orders of the Irmãs Superioras /Superior Sisters/; and they brought to this classmate the gifts received. Such deference, however, did not seem to be the fruit of friendship, but of fear. The Indian girl, who hardly cries, did it when admonished

103. A similar statement was given by the Superior of the newly founded Salesian Mission of Assunção among the Arwake of the Içana, located in the place known as Carará-poço, in August of 1957, therefore after only five months of the functioning of the local girls' boarding school.

/467 cont./

797
857
by this companion, whose rebuke (104)

> 104. Among the reciprocal insults, someone said: -- "You do not have a father," and another answered her: -- "Your mother is a thief."

she feared more than that of the Religious Superiors.

575 We have already mentioned the great sociability of these tribes, but nevertheless there do not seem to exist among the Uaupesinos secret Societies or more or less public ones of the various kinds that proliferate among the North American tribes, especially among the matriarchalists. The causes might be several: 1st, they ordinarily live in small human groups; whereas it is the large groupings that favor the subdivisions into smaller societies; 2nd, they live the common life of a maloca, each one being observed in all his acts; 3rd, the family life is quite autonomous, even when several families live in the same maloca, without partitions of any kind; 4th, the almost nonexistence of a taboo separating the men from the women.

562
796
1) We have an indication of a great separation of the sexes, and of a society that gathers together few times and quickly today, in the feasts of Wĩx-tĩ. The men congregate for the phallic procession, as we have described (VII - 4, e (2 a 1) and the women remain outside the maloca, with the prohibition, under the penalty of death, against looking at the instrument.

623 2) We have noticed in the malocas and povoados the existence of a Senate, the Bũxkõrákurá, which meets frequently, enjoying /468/ great ascendancy, imposing and demanding the observance of the ancestral customs, with the competence to choose the chief.

756 3) Another existing society, it seems, is that of the Xamãs /shamans/ or Pajés. The training process of the pajé always is attending the school of another pajé, even by class of student-xamãs. Even after graduating and in the exercise of their profession, they meet periodically, invited to resolve the most difficult

/469 cont./
619 they followed in the more serious questions that involved relations
622 with other tribes or with the whites. Each one, however, judging himself perfectly independent and even with very little power over the other men of his own maloca.

701 It consists, indeed, of the temporary union of several groups
622 for an aggressive or defensive military expedition under the orders of a single chief (106).

175 106. Thus the renowned Ajuricaba of the Manao
721 nation, with his two thousand bows, navigating
648 true fleets under the flag of Holland, hunted Indians
701 of other tribes in order to sell them as slaves to the Hollanders of Guiana (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario," n. 336). In 1858 Pe. Romualdo Gonçalves de Azevedo (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 7, p. 86), narrating the episode of the "Cristo de Juquira" (cf. VII-4, b), estimates that a thousand persons from various localities and tribes gathered in Juquira in declared hostility to the civilized. Alexandre R. Ferreira ("Diário" of 1785), apropos of the legendary city of Manoa, vast captial of the Manao, explains to us that on the river Urubaxi where the Manao formerly were: "the reported aldeia /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ (Irananauoca) did not have the qualities and greatnesses that the city of Manoa paraded, because, notwithstanding that all these were confederated, their aldeias were nevertheless independent of one another and many of them as populous as Irananauoca."

622 /470/ There has never been a true authority, but only the
797 ascendancy of one tuxaua over the others. This is more or less the present situation of a Missionary, and, with certain reservations, we can speak of a hypertuxauaship.

/474 cont./

554 614 [601] 4th. -- The malocas do not date from the same time, some are earlier and others later, having originated perhaps from some schism. The groups that have been organized more recently always respect the primacy of the older ones, calling them *Mamí*.

554 614 829 5th. -- The large number of groups that began to appear, however, complicated this hierarchization, hence the practical doubt that assails the Indian in some cases, not being able to say who would have precedence.

● 797 177 614 2) With the advance of civilization toward those regions, the division is accentuated, and one can discover a double cause for such a fact. The first is the tightening of the family ties and its valorization becoming ever greater, thanks to the support of the religious and civil authorities, and for this reason the family group can already be strong enough by itself. The second is the povoados that appear, consisting of families of different subtribes or even of different tribes. One can foresee, if things go on as they are, that there will no longer be any fusion of tribes, but, instead, a leveling and amalgamation into Brazilian nationality.

This amalgamation is favored not so much by the marriages with the civilized, which up to the present are very rare events, but by the traditional exogamy and knowledge and love of the Brazilian homeland, which has gained ground among these children of the forest, thanks to the work of the Religious Missions and of their schools.

e) *Phratrics (sibs) or totemic clans?*

619 Just as the *Tribe*, better called *Nation*, does not have a chief, neither do its subdivisions, or *Subtribes* (111), such as we find today, have one. They are not political units, but only *ethnic* ones.

111. Obviously the term *Subtribe* is improper; just as that of *Tribe* does not strictly apply to the national assemblage of these natives.

*192 /482 cont./

621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the
same as what is called mutyrum on the lower
Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests: and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

/483 cont./

797
527 /footnote 3 cont./ the seats of the Salesian Missions, not infrequently several days by canoe, in order to attend there the great religious celebrations (Christmas, Easter, etc.). They spend happy [illegible]ys and weeks in contact with civilization, being instructed in the religious truths and amusing themselves, as if they were school children, with collective games. Processions, songs, luminous projections, theatrical representations, even the food, sweets, presents which they receive on these occasions, everything agrees with their psychology and makes these feasts acceptable and indispensable to them.

484 Anyone who navigates those rivers invariably meets canoes, up river and down river, of tourist Indians. Some spend months visiting acquaintances and relatives in the various povoados.

3) Life cycle.

145 We know the rites that accompany the birth of the children. Under the care and attention of their mother, in contact with nature, they start growing and becoming strong. Upon reaching the use of their muscles, they will try to walk and are put down on the ground to crawl. They will then suffer the attacks of [164] verminosis. They become pale, swollen, big-bellied, and many die. Those who manage to conquer the sickness and reach adolescence are saved.

Lacking positive statistical data about the organic development of the native child, one has the impression that this proceeds by more characteristic jumps than among the civilized of the south of the country.

/485 cont./

888 he will face Wĩx-tĩ, the great Idea, the great Spirit, in which he has always believed, whom he has respected and feared and tried to propitiate, as his ancestors taught him.

764 When they become aware of the quiet and solitary catastrophe, the maloca will be agitated by the clamorous wailing of the nation for the member who has just passed away.

121 This, however, does not complete the cycle of native life. 797 All of those tribes of the Caiarĩ are nowadays in direct or indirect relation with the "Civilização de Cristo" /Civilization of Christ/. The parents, under the impulse of paternal love, dream of making their child a civilized person, child of Brazil and of the Church. This sacred fire is kindled deep inside each youth, and for this reason he enrolls in the Catholic schools. They spend long and happy years there, without dissociating themselves, however, from their nation. And they return to their "brothers" with their minds more enlightened, greater material comfort, a belief in the Creator God of heaven and earth, Lord, Judge and Father, and a hope of a less sad old age, nourished by the hopes of a happy future life without end.

And the elders, to whom such a chance was not presented, will perhaps have assistance in the hospitals that the charity of Jesus Christ has erected in each Missionary center, and the maternal care of a Religious who tries to alleviate the physical pain and to comfort the soul. And, above all, they will have the hope of the assistance of a Missionary who, in the last moments of life, through the infinite efficacy of the Sacraments, will make him a child of God, will enrich his soul with grace and will open for him the doors of eternal blessedness. /Page 486 is blank./

back to Arawakan, so that the young people were still Tucanoan 177
speakers while their elders were already back to Arawakan (1909, 197
I, 116). Where Arawakan and Tucanoan coexist, Koch-Grünberg has observed, Arawakan becomes the language of ritual and Tucanoan the everyday language (1909, II, 182).

In general the region of the Vaupés, the only part of the Northwest Amazon that I can speak of from personal knowledge, exhibits a high degree of cultural cosmopolitanism. Many Indians are multilingual because of the frequency of intermarriage with other linguistic groups and the love of the Indians for travel and intertribal trade. Not only do the Indians have some knowledge of the standard languages in the region, but they also employ the *lingoa geral*, a lingua
franca based on Tupían, and many are conversant with Spanish and 177
Portuguese. As they adopt languages the Indians also adopt new customs; these are always welcomed, almost in the same way in which women eagerly acquire from one another new varieties of manioc, or in the way in which men and women collect and try to cultivate almost anything that grows. This, in short, is not a region of cultural conservatism. Having freshly arrived from an ethnographic survey in the Colombian Andes, I was literally overwhelmed by the contrast between the secretiveness and wariness of the highland Indians and the openness and friendliness of the Cubeo.

Of course, the question of cultural relations between Tucanoans and Arawakans is one of great complexity and uncertainty. We have only the most general knowledge of these relations; but even this provides a very useful background for understanding the nature of Indian-white relations and of Cubeo acculturation. The essential point in this background would seem to be what I have called the Indian's cosmopolitanism. I speak now only for the Indians of the Cuduiarí. There, it has seemingly provided a strong measure of immunity
against the potentially overwhelming effects of European contacts. 175

The Northwest Amazon has been subject to persistent white influ-
ence from the sixteenth century onward.[3] As early as 1557 Francisco 177
Perez de Quesada founded the community of Mocoa on the Caquetá 797
River. The Dominicans entered the region in 1550, the Franciscans some 20 years later. Prior to their expulsion in 1767 the Jesuits founded many missions on the Orinoco, on the Meta, on the Casanare, on the Guaviare, and on the Vichada. On the Vaupés proper the first mission was founded in 1852 at Carurú by P. Gregorio, a Carmelite.

---

[3] For historical background consult: Archivo do Amazonas, 1906; Bauer, 1919; Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 153 ff., for missions on the Vaupés; Gumilla, 1791; Koch-Grünberg, 1909; Martius, 1867, I, 591 ff.

175
177
797
He succeeded in bringing together a village of some 300 Indians. By 1881 the mission was disbanded and the Indians returned to their original communities. At about the same time the mission of Santa Cruz dos Cobeus was established at Mitú *cachoeira* near the Cuduiarí. Missionary activity in the region has been generally discontinuous but nonetheless energetic; and while Christian doctrine has left only a vague imprint in native religious practices it has succeeded in acquainting the Indians with new ideas of dress and in disturbing their 175 convictions about some practices such as cannibalism. For a period between 1875 and the early 1900's there was a flurry of nativist agitation in the Vaupés. Between 1875 and 1878 an Indian from the Isana River, called Anizetto, reportedly a hermaphrodite, led a messianic movement against the whites until he was arrested by the Brazilian authorities. In 1880 a shaman who called himself Vicente Cristo led another messianic movement along the middle Vaupés. Koch-Grünberg [668] observed that the native messianic leaders were always Arawakan-speaking (1809, I, 39). There is nothing to suggest that any of these movements ever took strong hold on the Indians. On the Cuduiarí tangible evidences either of Christian influence or of native messianism were slight in 1940.

175
177
648
European commercial penetration started slowly but reached a sudden expansion with the rubber boom that subsided shortly before World War I. The Putumayo, where thousands of Indians perished in the rubber camps, was a notorious and baleful focus of white influence (Hardenburg, 1912). From then on the Indians and the whites along the Vaupés were in constant contact and in frequent conflict. On the lower Vaupés in Brazilian territory many Indian tribes had taken on the outward appearance of the mestizo, or caboclo as he is called in Brazil, as early as 1852, when Wallace was there. The upper Vaupés in Colombian territory retained its true Indian character for very much longer. The Cuduiarí was still very strongly native at the time of my field work in 1939–40.

177
Only close study will reveal how far acculturation has gone even among those Indians most closely associated with the whites on the main streams. There the Indians wear the dress of the mestizo, live in European-style shacks, and celebrate the Christian holidays. They also carry out native ceremonials, not, to be sure, with the traditional elegance, but strongly enough to suggest that a good deal of native life goes on beneath the shabby surface of ragged clothing, poor housing, and the litter of cheap manufactured utensils and ornaments.

[182]
The resistance of the Indians of the Cuduiarí to cultural loss and breakdown may be attributed in the main to relative isolation, but

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians 177
to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their 182
sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian,
the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a
distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification
as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean
breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture
change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are
no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian
to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another
general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiarí the white man does
not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects 177
the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then 797
the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the
children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians
and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually
antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the 177
trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having 464
completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own
community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in
the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign
tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well
accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of
European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical
forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally
the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described 171
by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber 177
forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, 182
for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the
virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú
with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered
with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a
well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the
Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the
rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo
have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and
from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives.
Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the
trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civilized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no cultivated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor. At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in 1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaria* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in 1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station. After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important administrative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio station, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business. Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

always tended to occupy the narrow headwaters of tributaries while 361
the strong and the top-ranking sibs have favored the large rivers and 614
their mighty cataracts. But while these strong and proud sibs in their 361
exposed positions were able to withstand enemy Indians, they have 614
succumbed more to Colombian and Brazilian missionaries and 177
traders. Thus, the sibs that the Indians refer to as our "head" are now 797
the most acculturated, and the low-ranking sibs the least.

I estimate the population of the Cubeo at under 2,500. This is a 161
crude figure based on a calculation of somewhat under 100 persons 162
per sib on the Cuduiarí, the only river that I had occasion to explore
along its entire length. Population was undoubtedly greater in the [361]
past. On the Cuduiarí there were 29 main residence sites,[2] each aver- [484]
aging some 30 to 35 people, some only a few minutes by canoe from
their nearest neighbors, but for the most part they were separated
by at least an hour of steady canoeing. This is high population den-
sity for the region. On other rivers in the region, houses are sepa-
rated by at least half a day's journey by canoe. A severe influenza 165
epidemic swept the region in 1917–18 and took a heavy toll of lives, 731
the Indians say. A number of sibs whose names are still remembered [614]
are now extinct. The Colombian government census of 1938, which
did not tally tribes, listed some 7,000 Indians for the entire *Comi-* 161
saría del Vaupés (Colombia, 1942). This figure, too, is surely an esti- 123
mate, since an accurate head count is virtually impossible. During 125
the period of my stay among them, the Indians, in a state of alarm 648
over rumors that their young men were all to be conscripted for labor
in the rubber forests, were understandably nervous about censuses
and genealogical explorations so that my own efforts at counting were
severely handicapped.

The term "Cubeo" is a Europeanization of the Tucanoan word 101
hebéwa, that means, literally, "the people that are not." It is a jest
name applied to them by some other Tucanoan-speaking tribe. Most
Indians were not aware that they were called "Cubeos," while those
who understood what it meant did not like the name. Strictly speak- 101
ing, there is no tribal name. A man will always identify himself by his
sib name, never by phratry and never by tribe. In the course of dis- 61
cussions with the ethnologist on native conceptions of "tribe" the In-
dians offered some self-designations. The most common was *pamíwa*
(first people). They also offered *pwénwa* (people), and then referred
to other tribes as *apépwénwa* (other people). I doubt, however, that
any Cubeo Indian has ever spontaneously declared himself to be a

---

[2] There is a list of these communities at the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963

SQ19 Túcano SQ19

CUBEO

771

Apart from the Ancients there is *Küwai*, who has been referred to 776 here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." [171] The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Küwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. [178] There are no rites involving *Küwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Küwai* in the past. *Küwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Küwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and [773] frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Küwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Küwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkü* 771 (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kavüno*) in a house with his 776 wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in 797 a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkü*, an Ancient, but *himéni-* 177 *hinkü* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiarí, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkü* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception 771 reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. 776 In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true benefi- 769 cent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note 771 that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

El Diablo

Today the *caucheros* still avoid the Piraparaná. Only a few years previously one had entered and tried to take an Indian's wife. He was shot with poisoned arrows and savagely cut to pieces. Two botanists had travelled some distance up the river from its mouth, but no one had descended its entire course. At Mitú only Padre Elorza was able to give us first-hand information. Young and zealous, he had been the first missionary to enter the Piraparaná, one month before we arrived. He had travelled half-way down the river and then turned up a tributary to Brazil. A wooden canoe could withstand the rough journey, he said; an aluminium one would not only be too wide for the creeks of the headwaters but would get ripped on the boulders. A suitable canoe, with a hollowed tree-trunk base and sides built up with planks, was lying half-filled with water in the mud at the side of the Vaupés; it belonged to the Mission but he thought the Monseñor might lend it to us. He also told us that his Spanish-speaking guide, an Indian from the Brazilian tributary he had ascended, was still in Mitú and he advised us to take him. He knew the river and he spoke the Tukano dialects. So we employed José, a small and somewhat shifty-looking man, together with his more genial brother, Uriel. We would pay them in pesos and feed them; they would take us to the Piraparaná and from there return to their home. From Padre Elorza we also learnt that two Persian anthropologists had reached the first house on the river only the year before. They had arrived earlier in the season than ourselves, stayed two weeks with the Indians and then returned to Mitú. The headwater streams still had had water in them. We were not to be so lucky. 648 797 122

That evening as we drank cold sweet lemon juice with the padres, their lives for a moment seemed blissfully peaceful and remote. They showed us their museum of countless ceremonial death masks, once worn by the Indians of the Vaupés. It seemed a curious paradox that we were entering territory with the help of a mission which was doing everything to displace the culture we had come so far to see. We walked back to the wooden house of the Commissioner where our host Don Alonso, wizened and immaculate, sat listening to the radiogram beneath an old tarnished chandelier – Mitú had known better days. Don Alonso insisted we drank beer and *aguadiente* and met everyone in his town; the negro who could repair the canoe and whose wife cooked delicious mealy *tamales*; the doctor and nurses from the hospital; the mechanic to test the outboard motors; many *caucheros* and finally a young Argentinian dentist who aimed to make his fortune capping people's teeth with gold. His price was high, but he would accept crude rubber, pelts and crocodile skins as payment before he moved on to the next outpost. The evening ended in hilarity as we danced to scratched seventy-eights revolving on a gramophone whose coiled trumpet betrayed its age. 122 797 122

Next morning before dawn, our thick heads were stirred by resounding hymns. It was Sunday and the Mission had their loudspeakers at work to call the town to Mass. We too went inside the crowded church. Later that day

as though the visitor to a *maloca* is explaining his reasons for arrival while the 576
host answers him in short phrases of affirmation. They do not look at each
other during the greeting, no matter whether they are in a *maloca*, on the
river or in the forest. We were continually impressed by their simple yet
perfect manners. Cassava and perhaps a newly-caught fish would be brought [123]
to us when we first arrived at a *maloca*, then, without our asking, we would
be shown where we could sling our hammocks.

The men have an easier life than the women. Their short, clipped speech 562
has, like their gait, a matter-of-fact sense of urgency about it, but is punctuated
by high trills of laughter when they joke and make fun amongst themselves. 522
They are born with a sense of humour, and it is the old who suffer 888
at the hands of the young. In one *maloca* a little boy consistently refused to let
his grandfather take his afternoon siesta. To everyone's great amusement he
would tickle the old man with a piece of grass, pretending a fly was settling
on his body.

It would be impossible to say whether the early push of the Jesuits up the 797
River Amazon towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the more
recent incursions of the *caucheros* and the Roman Catholic missionaries on the
Vaupés and Caquetá, have had an influence on Tukano thought. Certainly
their beliefs are very complex. Moreover, the Tukano live in an area as far
from the Amazon as the Hebrides from London, while the first direct
missionary contact with the Upper Piraparaná had been made by Padre
Elorza only the month before we arrived.

Besides believing in some vague all-powerful good spirit or god, the 776
Indian believes in many lesser spirits, both good and evil, all of which have a
great influence on him and to a large extent rule his life. The good spirits can
be recognized in the pleasant things of the forest. They are represented by
fruit trees and plants – bananas, pineapples and other edible fruits, and coca
too; the various trees used in making the *malocas*; the cool and clear forest
streams. Whereas the poison in manioc, the twisted creepers and roots which
trip weary hunters, and the jagged rocks in rapids which split canoes – these
are evil spirits.

Apart from this animistic belief, the Indian believes in an immortal soul – 775
at least in some cases, for he acknowledges the existence of spirits of the dead,
usually his ancestors. The spirit of a living man wanders only when he is 774
asleep. The shaman on the contrary can divest his body of the spirit at will
and glide through the jungle in the guise of a puma. 756

Indian life is greatly influenced by this fourfold world of the spirit – the
monotheistic spirit or god, the animistic spirits, the ancestor spirits and the 776
detached living spirits, and it is the evil ones who hold the greatest sway over 775
a man's life.

Usually the men are called after birds, and the women after plants and 000

101 a dominant influence in the area. The Tukano
[191] tribal language serves as the lingua franca of the entire area. (Its use as a lingua franca antedates the appearance of other linguae francae in the region.)

The various tribes making up this large, homogeneous cultural group contain about 90 percent of the people in the area. The remainder consists of two ethnic groups. One is the Makú Indians, who live away from the rivers and are more or less nomadic. They do not intermarry with the riverine Indians. The other consists of the non-Indians, who call themselves *blancos* (in Spanish) or *brancos* (in Portuguese), and who number perhaps 1,500. Most of them live in the two or three air-strip towns. Their economy is centered around rubber gathering, and they include about 150 missionaries, who maintain some dozen missionary posts. The non-Indians have a strong monolingual tradition, speaking only either Spanish or Portuguese. They have shown little inclination to learn the Indian languages or to participate in Indian culture.[3] There is little intermarriage between Indians and *blancos* (who mostly consist of *mestizo-criollos*).

184 Here, then, is a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism—and poly-
191 lingualism in the individual—is the cultural norm. Anthropologically, this is a culture trait, and it is an outstanding culture trait of the area.

Social Units

61 Social units of primary importance to the analysis of multilingualism in the central Northwest Amazon culture area are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry; the longhouse group; the linguistic group; and the
[797] exogamy group. Secondarily important, as they represent aggregations from among the above, are the mission village, the rubber-working group (an incipient *patrón-peón* group), and the nationality group. In the structural interrelations of all these groups, the sib occupies a focal position.

Several nuclear families may be found in a lineage, and several lineages in a sib (or patrilineal clan), which is the named and localized unit of social organization. A tribe is a named political and ceremonial unit, consisting of several sibs; it has a separate history and is identifiable by a distinct language. Barring the few exceptions where some of its sibs belong to a different phratry from that of the major-

61
582 to more than one phratry are well known and are taken for granted as minor exceptions to the stated rule. This rule is expressed in a formula that one does not marry inside of one's own tribe-and-language group because one would then be marrying a brother or a sister. Although informants do not explicitly refer to it, they recognize exogamy at the phratry level, and all marriages conform to a rule of phratry exogamy as well as of tribal exogamy. Recognition of the multitribal composition of the phratry is expressed as: "A Tukano will not marry a Baré because the Baré are brothers and sisters with the Tukanos."

The exogamic phratry system is extended fictitiously to all tribes peripheral to and beyond the central Northwest Amazon area, even though members of these tribes may not themselves be aware that they fit into such a system. Despite this fiction, it is safe to assume that any marriage with a member of one of these tribes will be phratry-exogamous. The nonriverine, marginal Makú of the interior lands back from the Papurí River, with whom the riverine Indians described in this paper do not intermarry, are considered to belong to the phratries to which the Tukano belong (the "Tukano-Makú") and to which the Desano belong (the "Desano-Makú"), and are said to intermarry among themselves accordingly.[3]

621
797 A larger mission village is a unit that has been created by missionaries from two or more longhouse groups representing two or more tribes (hence linguistic groups) that have been required to tear down their longhouses, move together, and build separate adobe huts for each nuclear family. A larger mission village also contains a contingent of non-Indian missionaries and a boarding house of school children from nearby settlements. A smaller mission village is a single longhouse group that has been persuaded to tear down its longhouse and substitute a series of adobe huts, one for each nuclear family.

621
466
648 The rubber-working group, for the Indian, is a unit of eight to ten months' duration per year, to which he belongs over a period of several years, usually in his youth. There are a great many such groups in the Upper Vaupés-Apaporis rubber-gathering area, each operating out of a camp, to which the Indians of the Middle Vaupés region are recruited. Properly speaking, the group includes one or more non-

466 621 648 • [797] Indians, who are the patrón and his foremen, but they tend to keep themselves apart socially and linguistically from their Indian workers. The rubber-working group forms economically a patrón-peón system, or, more precisely for the Vaupés area, a patrón-padre-peón system. A benevolent role of missionaries in the Vaupés has been to minimize the depredations and excessive abuses of the rubber-working barons by requiring them to acquire their Indian workers through the missionaries as middle men.

619 829 A clear distinction is made between tribal group and nationality; a word glossing as "landsmen" is the term used in Tukano for nationality group. There are two nationality groups among the multilingual Indians described in this paper—the Colombian Indians and the Brazilian Indians (the periphery of the multilingual area may include some Venezuelan Indians)—and even the members of the longhouses in the zone most unacculturated to "civilization" know whether they are Colombians or Brazilians. Also, Indians and non-Indians both agree that there are two clear-cut categories of people in the Vaupés: in Spanish these are called the *indígenas*, or Indians, and the *blancos*, or non-Indians (including Negros). However, the Indians feel uncertain and confused about ethnic and presumably "tribal" groups among the non-Indians. A favorite topic of conversation with me was inquiry about ethnic descent groups among such known nationality groups as Colombians, Brazilians, Venezuelans, and "Americans" (of the U.S.A.). Apparently the Indians are trying to set up a folk taxonomy for non-Indians within the Indian frame of reference. They have long been familiar with members of Dutch, German, English, Spanish, and Portuguese ethnic groups; they are confused about the nationality as against the ethnic status of some of these, especially of the latter two. Many Colombian and Brazilian nationals whom the Indians frankly regard as mestizos or creoles claim not only to be blancos but also "Spaniards" or "Portuguese"; yet they do not resemble the Dutch, German, or English blancos. (In Tukano the word for "blanco," best glossed from Spanish as "non-Indian," is derived from a form also used in the derivations of "fire, shotgun, fireplace"; the occasional blanco-sponsored request for a new form in Tukano that would gloss as "white" is consistently rejected.)

[P. 672-B]

829 Although the Indians reckon, for reference, in terms of ethnic groups, their attitude toward non-Indians is roughly the same as that of Americans in the United States toward European immigrants, who are looked upon as potentially becoming more and more American. I observed that Indians behold the visitor as potentially becoming more and more Indian-like unless he actively rejects Indian food, customs, and so forth. Most non-Indians are unaware of this attitude, and many would be contemptuous of it if they did know of it.

With respect to the Dutch, Germans, etc., an identifying criterion important to the Indian is that each of these ethnic groups is a separate language-bearing group. I was surprised that Indians do not naïvely assume that the English-speaking "American" necessarily belongs to the English ethnic group; the occasional North American traveler who insists (in Spanish) that he is "American" by *tribe* as well as by nationality is simply not believed. The North American who can be more explicit about his ethnic background is appreciated, especially if the background includes languages other than English and more than one ethnic group (thus simulating in form the exogamic language-bearing groups among the Colombian or Brazilian Indians). The Indians have also noted the widespread and, to them, notorious endogamy of the non-Indians and figure that [582] [797] there must be some sort of sib exogamy. The Indians ask a great deal about non-Indian marriage customs--partly because missionaries at times have suggested that the Indians' exogamy system is cumbersome and uncivilized, and that it promotes close cousin marriage, whereas the Indians feel that it is the non-Indian, with his lack of a clearly definable exogamy system, who is indiscriminate.

As for nationality-and-language, the Indians know that Spanish is the language of non-Indians on the Colombian side of the border and that Portuguese is the corresponding language on the Brazilian side of the border. They also know that Spanish is the language of Venezuela and that English is the language of "America." Nationality has no bearing on exogamy.

The Tribal Unit

619 In the central Northwest Amazon the term "tribe" has been used both for individual language-bearing units and for composites of these units sharing the same culture. In general

191 Eventually a point will be reached where one of these languages will drop out of the longhouse repertoire, and perhaps another language (e.g., Tatuyo or Paneroa) will enter.

I must emphasize again that it is not just scattered individuals who know the various languages used in a given longhouse; but *all* the longhouse residents know them. In the mission villages, where what formerly were two, three, or more longhouses are now gathered together in one village of adobe huts, the linguistic picture resembles that of the single longhouse, but usually more than one father-language is present, for most missionary villages contain men from more than one tribe. There seemed to be an incipient age-grading pattern between two father-tongues at one of the missions, but not at the others.

[797]

Periodically the missions have tried to prohibit the use of Indian languages, but these efforts were subsequently dropped. In aboriginal settings, in the mission compounds away from face-to-face contact with the missionaries themselves, and in any gathering of Indians, whether traveling, visiting, working rubber, no Spanish or Portuguese is used (except occasionally when Indians drink alcoholic beverages!). The field worker must rely upon a knowledge of at least one of the Indian languages in order to keep track of what languages are actually being spoken.

The Indians are quite unself-conscious about their multilingualism. They take it for granted. There is no development of cross-linguistic puns. There is no stylistic device of switching from one language to another or of interspersing one's conversation with quotes from another language. Conversations in two or more languages indeed occur on occasion, as in visiting, but no one takes special note of it. Each individual initially speaks in his own father-language during such a conversation in order to assert his tribal affiliation and identification, but after a while the junior persons change, without comment, to the longhouse language, to Tukano as the lingua franca, or to another language, whatever one is most convenient for the others. A person usually cannot enumerate how many languages he knows, and is perplexed at being asked to do so. The interviewer has to go over with him one by one the whole list of languages spoken in the area. But when approached, in this way, each individual definitely knows his own repertoire and can state what languages

[P. 678-B]

191 the multilingual area described in this report
648 know Nheengatú. Some younger people can
repeat lists of words and forms in it, but they
do not speak it. According to informants, it
can be heard conversationally in the lower
portions of the Vaupés, but I have not heard
it used conversationally in the Middle Vaupés
• [797] region. It was originally brought up the Ama-
zon and to the Rio Negro by the Jesuits as the
language of instruction; and it was well es-
tablished there by the 18th century, when a
contest with Portuguese began (Martius
1867). Its grammar, originally adapted from
a Latin model, was artificially built on a
Tupí-Guaraní base similar to that of present-
day Guaraní.

191 After Nheengatú, Portuguese came in as another lingua franca. It is now the language of the non-Indians on the Brazilian side of the border and the language taught in the mission schools there.

On the Colombian side, Spanish is the official lingua franca. There was much learning of Spanish in the rubber-gathering area during the rubber boom, and Spanish superseded Nheengatú as the dominant lingua franca there. The increasing importance of Spanish at the expense of Portuguese and the already fading Nheengatú coincided with a change in the rubber industry: to extract the *siringa* type of rubber, found in abundance in the Upper Vaupés River and Upper Apaporis River region of interior Colombia, instead of the less valuable but more widespread *balata* type found in both Colombia and Brazil. The stability of Tukano during this period of change probably enhanced its position as a lingua franca. The Upper Vaupés–Upper Apaporis region is just outside of the culture area being described in this paper, and it includes Indian workers who have come in from still other culture areas. While the knowledge of Spanish is spreading, via this rubber-gathering area, into the adjacent culture areas, the knowledge of Tukano is also spreading.

191 648 For about 20 years there has been a concerted attempt to teach Colombian Indians Spanish in the schools. Perhaps one-third to one-half of the Indians already know Spanish as a second lingua franca. Many learned it when, as youths, they worked a few years in the rubber-gathering area. Theirs is good, understandable, and effective Spanish, although it may lack the subjunctive and certain other details of normative grammar. It

104 man, English, etc. There is great variation in the spellings. The spellings in this paper tend to follow those of Koch-Grünberg, who still remains the general authority for the area as a whole. His spellings are close to those used for Nheengatú. They generally conform with those used for world-wide ethnographic spellings; in addition, they seem to have been the spellings more commonly used in English, German, Portuguese, and Spanish ethnographies on South America.

101
161
191
Population estimate. Population figures are hard to estimate. The following are very impressionistic. Tribes with 1,000–2,000 members: Tukano, Kubeo, Baré; Spanish-only speakers. Tribes with 500–1,000 members: Piratapuyo, Wanano, Desano. Tribes with 150–500 members: Tuyuka, Yurutí, Paneroa, Eduria, Karapana, Tatuyo, Barasana, Siriano, Tariano, Tabaino, Makuna, Tekuana, Datuana; Portuguese-only speakers. Of the latter tribes, Yurutí, Yekuana, and Datuana may number • [797] fewer than 150 members. A few Salesian missionaries, in Brazil, are Italians.

There are probably a few hundred Makú in occasional contract with the multilingual Indians in this area.

Non-Indians probably number about 1,500 and are concentrated in the few air-strip towns.

For a very round figure, a population of 10,000 has been estimated for the multilingual area in which Tukano is the chief lingua franca. Of these 10,000, only the non-Indians, the Makú, and some of the Kubeo are not multilingual, so that over 80 percent of the population is multilingual. As the non-Indians are concentrated in the few air-strip towns and a dozen missionary posts, the effective distribution of multilingualism is much higher; close to 100 percent of the communities encountered in the area are multilingual. Of the multilingual Indians, well over 90 percent know Tukano at least as a lingua franca, with young children accounting for the majority of the few who do not.

NOTES

[114]
[12]
[1] This report is an expanded version of a paper presented to the Tenth Annual National Conference on Linguistics in New York on March 13, 1965. Field work was done in the summers of 1959, 1960, and 1962 and from June to December 1963. It was supported during much of this time by USPHS Research Grant MH-17,258. I wish to acknowledge the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by the Xaveriano missionary order in Colombia and the Salesian missionaries of the Brazilian Vaupés region. Various drafts of this paper were read by Drs. Charles

000 Wagley, [illegible]rvey Pitkin, Robert F. Murphy, and Dell Hymes. I am indebted to them for their criticisms and encouragement.

797 [2] Notable exceptions have been Father Kök of the Montfortiano Order, who was in the Colombian Vaupés until the late 1940's and wrote a grammar (1921–22), and Father Giacone of the Salesian Order, in Brazil, who has just published a grammar (1965, not yet seen by this writer; also 1939). Many missionaries can understand an Indian language to some extent and listen to confessions in it.

177 563 61 582 [3] According to informants from the still-Indian Middle and Upper Vaupés area, the area of this paper, it seems likely that the *caboclo* population of the Lower Vaupés River and adjacent areas along the Rio Negro continues to observe some sort of exogamy. Caboclos are detribalized (deculturated) Indians who, through the processes of loss, acquisition, and intermingling of Indian and European (Portuguese) culture traits, have acculturated to a relatively stable but impoverished type of "backwoods," riverine culture. Caboclo culture depends on the extraction of natural products, such as rubber, accompanied by some subsistence farming, fishing, and hunting. The caboclo population functions as a marginal, and usually indebted, rural peasantry in the national economy (Wagley 1953, 1964; Oberg 1965). Much of the population living along the Amazon and its tributaries consists of caboclos. The caboclo population is mostly of the Indian physical type, but it may include some non-Indian admixture. The term "*caboclo*" is Portuguese; in Vaupense Spanish it is "*caboco*," and in Tukano it is a form glossing as "mixed one." Some downriver segments of such Indian groups as the Tukano and the Desano, and particularly the Baré, are now considered by the other Indians as well as by the non-Indians to be caboclos.

000 [4] The identification of "tribe" with patrilocal language groups and, consequently, with a "linguistically and culturally hybrid social unit," suggests a possibility for widening the research problem recently described by Owen (1965). See Naroll (1964), also, on types of cultural units.

124 191 [5] These statements are based on 167 formally recorded interviews taken along the course of the Papurí and some of its tributaries, such as the Inambú and the Paca, and on the upper-to middle-Tikié. However, the representation by tribe, river, age group, mission, etc., is not comprehensive enough for a statistically controlled comparison. Many informants' statements were checked and double-checked, and some were cross-checked through other informants or at other times; they were found to be constant. Most interviewing was done in Tukano. Informants consistently tended to underestimate their linguistic repertoire, and these underestimates, as given, have been retained in the field notebook. I observed that, perhaps owing to the census-like nature of this activity, informants registered some uneasiness, although they did not cease to maintain rapport with the field worker, so the program was dropped and only occasional interviews thereafter were recorded. (In the following year a governmental census was indeed taken.) At one mission, I secured accurate data *about* each informant's linguistic repertoire, but the informants gave spurious names (each other's names in many cases) as a maneuver not aimed against the researcher but intended as a kind of practice session in preparation for coping with a locally rumored politico-religious threat based on missionary rivalry.

177 101 197 [6] There still exist abrupt cultural and linguistic lines of demarcation between Tukano and Spanish, which are separated from each other either by a geographical no-man's-land or by figuratively walled towns; but there is now a tendency to adapt to a caboclo type of culture on a semipermanent basis by some Indian nuclear families in the rubber-gathering Upper Vaupés-Upper Apaporis area. They represent a stage of acculturation similar to the one described by Steward and Murphy (1956) for the Mundurucú. Indeed, there are a number of parallels with the Mundurucú (Murphy 1960).